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THE "RED INDIAN" OF LITERATURE.

A STUDY IN THE PERPETUATION OF ERROR

by

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A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

OTTAWA, CANADA
JUNE 1941

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"I think of it as it should have been, with its prolixities docked. its dullnesses enlivened, its fads eliminated, its truths multiplied." H. W. Fowler.

PART ONE

THE "RED INDIAN" OF LITERATURE

> "Sir, I know Indians. They're cowardly, plundering, murdering dogs, filthier than animals, contemptuous of treaties, devoid of humanity." K.Roberts in Arundel.

Introduction
Chapter 1 The Growth of the Popular Concept
Chapter 2 The "Red Indian" of Literature
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INTRODUCTION

For some time now I have been keeping a scrap-book into which I paste pictures of Indians and Eskimos. These pictures are not chosen for their skilled photography nor for striking costumes; the criterion is of an entirely different sort. To qualify for inclusion the picture must illustrate one or more of the numerous fallacies in the popular concept of the North American Indian.

Let us examine one of them (See Fig.1.) Here is a clever piece of painting, reproduced in colour and printed as part of a full-page advertisement in Life. It shows two Indians burying a stone hatchet while, in the middle distance, a dignified person puffs solemnly on a pipe. In the background are other Indians and some tipis. At the bottom of the picture is this caption: "The American Indian, to indicate that hostilities were over, made a ceremony of the actual burying of their tomahawks and war clubs, as the pipe of peace was smoked. To this very day we use the phrase "Bury the hatchet" to signify peace after a quarrel."

As I said, it is a clever piece of painting. The artist has evidently visited a museum and made a study of Prairie Indian costumes and designs, as can be seen by the type of pattern he has used for the belt worn by one Indian and the leggings worn by another. He also shows eagle plumes correctly divided into black and white portions, a necklace of bear claws, buffalo-calf horns worn as part of a head-dress, and a very fine stone-headed warclub which, to judge by its bright green colour, is of jade.

"Well, what's wrong with that?" a friend asked me. There are a good many things wrong with it. Here's a partial list:

(1) The Indian in the foreground at the left wears a belt, but no breech-clout. Now, the purpose of the belt was to support the breech-clout; if this garment were not worn (an unlikely thing on so important an occasion), there would be no occasion to wear the belt.

(2) The warclub appears to be of jade. I do not know of any such from the Prairies, or elsewhere for that matter, though the tipis assure us that this is a Prairie scene.

(3) The Indian smoking the pipe has a red blanket wrapped about his legs, so the time indicated must be post-European; but there are no other evidences of European contact in the picture, such as fire-arms or steel knives.

(4) There was no "actual burying" of tomahawks and warclubs.

This was a purely rhetorical expression, like our 'beating swords into ploughshares'.

(5) This rhetorical expression was used by the Iroquois and their neighbours, rather than by the Prairie Indians shown here.

(6) The 'custom' can not be attributed to the 'American Indians' as a whole, as is done in the caption. To the great majority of them the expression would be strange, if not incomprehensible.

And even that's not all, for there is a good deal of doubt as to the exact meaning and function of the pipe of peace, but we may let that go for the moment.

This brings us to the essence of our thesis: that the Indian of the popular concept is a strange blend of fact and fancy, the result of tales we read in our childhood; of such pictures as the one we were just looking at; of the moving pictures and their conventional Indians; of the Indian of the legitimate stage, of the rotogravure section of the Sunday newspaper, of the carnival, the exhibition, and the Wild West circus.

It is important, I feel, the point out that our function is not to condemn the popular concept, but merely to examine it. There are no moral issues involved; it is not a question of good or bad, merely one of right or wrong in the anthropological sense. An artists may be a good artist, though a poor ethnologist. His pictures are seldom intended to be quite technically accurate in all their details. Even in reputable books on anthropology mistakes are to be found now and then. Indeed, it is very difficult for anybody to avoid an occasional lapse into error when dealing with such a subject as this, for almost no statement about the North American Indian can be made without any reservation, except perhaps the most general assertions as to their physical appearance or racial origin. One can not say glibly 'the Indians did thus and so, but never did such another thing'. Rather is it necessary to state specifically what particular Indians are referred to (and there are fifty-odd tribes in Canada alone), and at what period in their history, for customs vary not only from tribe to tribe, from village to village, but also from century to century, and from generation to generation.

So, heeding our own caution, let us decide now that the discussion in the pages which follow will be confined, in the main, to those Indians, chiefly Algonkian and Iroquois, with whom most of our contacts have been since the discovery of the continent. Space does not permit inclusion of the Eskimo (a favourite target of the popular-fallacy monger), the pueblo people of the south-west, of the Pacific Coast Indians who erected the far-famed totem-poles, nor even the numerous tribes of the North-West Territories of Canada. Should there be occasion to refer to any native peoples not included in the limits we have laid down, attention will be called to the fact. The question of time requires more detailed study, for our popular concept of today is one which has taken some 450 years to form, since that October morning when Columbus knelt in prayer on the beach of a little island in the West Indies, down to today.

The study presented here is based, then, on this thesis:

(A) The popular concept of the North American Indian is largely derived from literature.
(B) This concept is a mixture of fact and fallacy.
(C) Many of the fallacies may be traced through several centuries of literature.

An effort has been made to support the thesis in the following way:

Books of various types, such as fiction, poetry, adventure, school books, encyclopedias, travels, science, letters, diaries, journals, -- in short both the literature of knowledge and of power, have been examined, and appropriate selections made from them.

These works have been so chosen as to include, as far as was feasible, some of each general class in each century, or in each main period in the development of the popular concept.

In this way, it is hoped, a cross-section of the pertinent literature has been obtained, and the truth of the thesis will be made evident.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE.

THE GROWTH OF THE POPULAR CONCEPT.

> "We first think of an Indian as living in a tepee, flashing in beadwork from moccassins to headband, wearing a gorgeous feather headdress, long braids of black hair, tomahawk, tom-tom, scalping knife and, most important of all, a red stone pipe with a gaily decorated stem as long as your arm." (1)

Our present-day concept of the North American Indian, so aptly summed up by Dr. Clark Wissler in the quotation above, is by no means the only one that was ever held. In fact, there have been at least eight separate and distinct 'Indians' since the Discovery, though these eight admittedly overlap somewhat in time.

Most of the ideas which make up these eight concepts are, of course, true; many of them are fallacies. Both the facts and the fallacies appear and disappear, some riding triumphantly through the whole history of our contact with the

Indians, others making their exits or their entrances as truth advanced and error receded, or as error again vanquished truth. Even today new fallacies rear their heads; there has been, for instance, a crop of 'discoveries' of Norse remains in the northern interior of the United States and in Canada recently, and they have given rise to books seeking to prove that these hardy adventurers penetrated into the heart of the continent many years ago, even centuries ago. The professional archaeologist contends that the evidence is, to say the least, inadequate.(2)

Most of the many authors who contributed to the formation of these diverse pictures of the North American Indian were sincere enough, but suffered the penalties of faulty observation (either on their own part or somebody else's), or of faulty deduction from these observations.

In 1888, which is long ago in the history of anthropology as a modern science, J.W.Powell wrote: "The accounts of hasty travellers may be divided into two classes: In a general way, one set of writers have found among savage and barbaric peoples a state of affairs worthy only of execration, and all such people have been condemned as 'devils'; another set of writers have discovered among such peoples only evidence of primitive innocence and the happiness of primitive simplicity, and such people have been pictured as 'angels': But neither of these conclusions is reached by trained anthropologists whose studies of mankind are made by careful investigation."(3) As we shall see, both 'devils' and 'angels' occur quite frequently in writings concerning the Indians, depending not only on the authors, who, as already granted, were usually sincere; but depending also, in other cases, on what particular axe the deliberately dishonest writer had to grind. Many factors entered into the portrayal of the Indians as sketched by the hundreds of men who have described them with their pens: The desire to support philosophical hypotheses, to advance knowledge, or merely to tell a good story. Then, too, fear, self-interest, bigotry, have left their marks, and plagiarism is not absent from the records either, as Washington Irving would be forced to admit.

Not only do the writings of these authors tell us of the Indians; the illustrations accompanying their works are also of great importance. The earliest pictures made some attempt at accuracy, crude though they generally were. Frequently an artist had only rough sketches and verbal descriptions to work from and, in the case of books printed in the old world, he usually had never seen an Indian himself, except perhaps in a peep-show. But in the eighteenth century there was a strong tendency to glorify the Indians, and the illustrations give them a classical air which is ludicrous, clothed in flowing draperies and adorned with the most impossible ostrich feathers.

Bissell(4) suggests that this was a transference of the supposed ethical qualities of the Noble Savage to his physical frame; that is to say, if he exhibited the virtues of a Spartan he must needs look like a bit of Greek statuary, with a full set of conventional ornaments in the background to match.

The growth of the popular concept in its present form may best be observed by a consideration of the eight stages of that growth, arranged in approximately chronological order:

(1) The Indian of the early days. The first accounts of the Indians are remarkable for their general accuracy, especially in those details which were matters of direct observation. Furthermore, it is made clear that the first contacts with the natives of the newly discovered continent were nearly always amicable, and the strangers were greeted as friends, often indeed, as gods. Columbus relates that the people "held our arrival to be a great marvel, believing that we came from heaven" (5). Cartier, too, in his second voyage, went on shore and "found five men, who were hunting wild beasts, which came as familiarly to our boats as if they had seen us all their lives, without having fear or apprehension".(6)

Again, in the First Voyage to Virginia we read: "when we came to the shore to him /the king/ with our weapons, hee never moved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be ofred from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and being set hee made all signes of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours, to shewe wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all love and familiaritie." (7)

But such felicities could not last. Casual visits were a welcome novelty to the Indians, and the strangers had many valuable objects which they were willing to exchange for a few skins, if they did not actually give them away. But once these white men came ashore and made evident preparations for a long stay, when they captured Indians and sold them into slavery, punished them for slight or even imaginary offenses, or even tortured them for the sheer sadistic fun of it as did the Spaniards in the West Indies, which they found a Paradise and left a Hell, why, then the situation changed, and the smiling Indian who first greeted the European adventurers became a most capable warrior energetically defending himself, his home and his possessions.

Nevertheless, the picture of the North American Indian then being formed in the minds of the people of England was not that of a ferocious savage. Many thousands of Englishmen had seen Indians, for, ever since the Discovery, explorers had brought Indians back from America with them, just as they had brought back parrots and monkeys from other shores. Many of these unfortunate people were lured or forced aboard ship and taken off to England or the Continent, there to be exhibited at so much a peep, just as are the freaks and frauds of our side-shows today.

Shakespeare and his contemporaries allude to the Indians quite frequently, but it is seldom more than a passing reference, a little topical squib designed to lend an air of liveliness and glitter to a play or poem. Caliban in The Tempest is one of the few 'full-length' portraits of an Indian, and here he is shown more as a monster than as a man (8). One of the most interesting descriptions of the Indians to be published in England had already appeared, however, nearly a hundred years earlier when John Rastell's A new Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the iiij Elements first saw the light, presumably in 1519. In a brief passage of only thirty-three lines, Rastell touches on no less than twelve characteristics of the Indians, and steers clear of errors with surprising success. It is obvious that this one mention can not have been very influential in forming a popular concept of the Indian in that early day, but it is at least evidence that interest had been aroused among writers and, presumably, among people in general. Lescarbot, nearly a hundred years later, commented on the fact that people in France were curious about the Indians and that many asked about their marriage ceremonies. (9)

(2) The Indian of Mexico and Peru. At the same time that the English colonies in Virginia and further north on the Atlantic coast were being formed and for nearly a hundred years before, the Spaniards had been pushing forwards their exploration and conquest of what are now Central America, Mexico, and Peru, and had attracted the attention of the world both to their enormous quantities of loot and to the unbridled savagery with which they treated the Indians.

The Indians encountered by the Spaniards in these countries were of a type very different from those the Elizabethans were familiar with. Rather than tribes of barbaric, almost savage, men they found people living in a state of reasonably advanced civilization. Agriculture was fairly well developed, social organization complex, astronomy and mathematics had made most astonishing progress, the arts were advanced, and architecture had risen to great heights of beauty. Most striking of all was the religion of these people, with elaborate ceremonies, large and magnificent temples, a well-organized though dreaded priesthood and, above all, spectacular human sacrifices in which living victims were slashed open with an obsidian knife and their still-beating hearts wrenched out and offered, dripping and palpitating, to the Sun.

Here indeed was material for the poet and the dramatist, material such as they would hardly have dared to use had it not the support of solid and well-authenticated facts to make it credible. Sir William Davenant saw the possibilities and, in spite of the difficulties of presenting a play during the time of the Cromwells, produced The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru in 1658 and The History of Sir Francis Drake in the following year. Their success was enormous; so great, indeed, that John Dryden resolved not to miss so rich a prospect and he in his turn produced The Indian Emperor in 1665. This was a full length play, for the Puritans were no longer in power, so he was not obliged, as Davenant had been, to muffle his work in the disguise of an opera. Five years later Dryden followed up this first success with another, The Conquest of Granada, in 1670.

These Indians were never confused in the mind of the public with those mentioned in the preceding section. They were known to be a people apart, differing in many ways from the "Red Indians". Southey introduced them again in his Madoc in 1805, but without notable success. Once Spanish adventurers had settled down into a more peaceful existence, once the sound of battle and the cries of the tortured, the shrieks of human sacrifices had been stilled, the romance vanished and these Indians were felt to be a little unreal, people as it were of another age, almost indeed of another world.

(3) The Noble Savage. Here was an Indian who never existed,

yet even today he is not quite dead. A product of the armchair philosopher, he lived always just beyond the limits of civilization, across the frontier, in those bare, white spaces on the map marked 'Unexplored'. At first he was held to inhabit America, then Africa, then Tibet, the South Seas, as explorers pushed into the unknown, made it the known, and left no home for the Noble Savage.

As far as English literature is concerned, it was perhaps Sir Thomas More who started it all when he announced that his Utopia was an island somewhere in the new world,but Montaigne, Rousseau, the French Encyclopedists, and Chateaubriand, not to mention Coleridge and Southey, and the first generation of Lake Poets in general, have to share the blame. (10) Stripped of all embellishments, their argument runs about like this:

> Surely man would live an ideal life, were conditions ideal.
> Surely conditions must be ideal, in unexplored America.
> Surely, therefore, the inhabitants of America must be
> ideal men living ideal lives.

Hardly a syllogism in Barbara! Yet this non-existent man, this Noble Savage, had more effect on the philosophical thought of Europe as a whole than had hundreds of much more tangible individuals. His influence was by no means a passing one either, nor is it unfelt today. In devious ways, the Noble Savage derived support from explorers as well as from the philosophers, for, knowing that these learned gentlemen had postulated that there must be, somewhere, men leading the lives of joy and innocence enjoyed before the Fall, the explorers were ever on the alert to discover them. Lescarbot, for one, felt he had succeeded: "Also we must say of them that they are truly noble, with no ungenerous conduct, whether we consider their hunting, or their employment in the wars, or search out their domestic actions." (11) These were the people of Nova Scotia, about the year 1606. Further south, on the coast of New Hampshire, he had an even more idyllic glimpse of the simple life. The Indians, he says, "followed the long-boat along the sandy beach ---- and danced and sang continually without any thought of how they should live by the way. Oh, happy race! yea, a thousand-fold more happy than those who here make us bow down to them." (12)

It seems never to have occurred to the philosopher, nor to the enraptured explorer, that, to the Indians themselves, their lives were every whit as humdrum and uninteresting as ours are to many of us, just a matter of every-day routine , and the lives of the Europeans must have seemed to the Indians a thousand times more glamorous and desirable.

This Noble Savage concept of the Indian, while by no means the one usually held today, crops up occasionally in literature, as in The Lost Horizon (13), though here the Noble Savage is a Tibetan rather than a North American Indian. (14)

(4) The Cruel Fiends, who "on midnight errands walk and bathe in brains the murderous tomahawk". (15) While the philosophers were insisting that the Indians must be Noble Savages, the children of nature, a very different idea of them was being formed in the minds of the settlers, the traders, the explorers, the officials and the missionaries in the New World. As our occupation of the country progressed, the Indians were forced off the coast which they had previously occupied in some numbers and were pushed back inland. They resented this, naturally enough, and their new white neighbours gave them ample cause to resent many other things too. Soon resentment broke into open opposition and three hundred years of more or less constant warfare began.

Indian methods of fighting were not the methods traditionally used by the soldiers of Europe. They preferred surprise attacks at dawn, and cunning ambushes. These tactics found the white men quite unprepared and unable to develop immediately an effective counter. One thing they could, and did, do was to accuse the Indians of 'treachery', just as the Germans and the Italians today protest with cries of 'Barbarism!' against any weapon or tactics they can not cope with.

In the long course of these wars many men, women, and children, both whites and Indians, were taken prisoner and their experiences were, often enough, heart-rending. Some of the white victims, who were fortunate enough to escape or to be ransomed, wrote their adventures and their books found a ready sale. The descriptions of the Indians given in these 'captivities' as such stories are called, are not flattering for they are shown as cruel fiends, murderous, treacherous, blood-thirsty. The first, and one of the best, of these is The Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, written by herself and giving an account of the incidents following on her capture by Indians in February, 1676.

Literally dozens of other 'captivities' followed, not all of them quite genuine it is to be feared, but all alike in their condemnation of the Indians in all their moods and aspects. Now and then, some little detail of their lives is shown as admirable, but only by way of contrast, as a candle serves but to darken the surrounding dark. Thus there was built up in the minds of the readers of these books a very definite and quite uncomplimentary picture of the North American Indian. Moreover, for some generations, many of these readers could vouch for the truth of these accounts from their own experiences, or those of their friends and relatives who had suffered at the hands of the 'cruel fiends'.

(5) The Fenimore Cooper Indian was the logical successor of the cruel fiend, was infact his grandfather or perhaps even his father, for with the settling of the eastern part of the continent and with the march of exploration ever westwards,

the Indian menace became, in the East, only a memory. Not till now had it been possible to look at these Indians, who had scalped and tortured the settlers in years gone by, in a dispassionate light, with a willingness to note their virtues equal to the readiness to condemn their vices. This is what Cooper did. He made, apparently, a sincere effort to depict the Indian as he actually had been and, while it is easy to pick flaws in his work, he probably came closer to a realistic picture than did any other professional writer of fiction. It is true that such a book as Bandelier's The Delight Makers is more accurate, technically speaking, but the situation is a somewhat different one, for Bandelier was an anthropologist and wrote his book primarily to paint a picture of Indian life as it was in the south-west of the continent before European contact, whereas Cooper did no such thing, but strove merely to tell a good, and not too misleading, story.

The Fenimore Cooper Indian is the basis of the present-day concept. He is one of the truly immortal characters of fiction, whether he be called Uncas or by the grossly un-pronounceable name of Chingachgook; and the civilized man of Europe, less affected by the Buffalo Bill tradition than is the citizen of North America, still has this Indian in mind when he thinks of a "Red Indian".

It is not easy to sum up the Fenimore Cooper Indian in a few words; it would mean going through all the Leatherstocking

Tales and extracting every descriptive phrase, an unending task. Dr. Ernest Leisy has essayed something similar: "What Cooper noted about the red men was their acute senses, developed through woodcraft and warfare, their belief in omens and their tortoise and beaver worship, their mummery, their stoicism, especially when enduring torture at the stake, their 'gift' of revenge, their war dance, their love of baubles, their respect for the feeble-minded or the aged, their chaste attitude toward female captives, the silence of the young, their funeral customs, and deference to the mound for the dead, their councils of war and fierce tribal pride, their use of metaphorical speech, and the crafty eloquence of their orators." (16)

Cooper had but little personal knowledge of the Indians. His ideas about them were derived largely from literature, especially from Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations which first appeared in 1819 and was, therefore, one of the latest books on the subject when, in 1826, Cooper wrote The Last of the Mohicans, and, being one of the latest, was presumably one of the best. He had seen Indians often enough, but they were no longer the'noble red men' he had pictured them, and the pitiful figures he saw selling baskets and stealing odds and ends were more like European gypsies than Indians; he was therefore all the more willing to accept the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder's description of them, biassed as it was, as the correct one. (17)

(6) The Hiawatha Indian. Here we have another contributor to the modern concept of the Indian. While Fenimore Cooper made some effort to depict the Indian as he really had been, this was by no means any part of Longfellow's intention. He wished to depict him as he might have been. In fact, the Noble Savage was not far from his mind, with a reminiscence of the Idylls of the King.

The very general use of extracts from Hiawatha in the schools has had a great deal of effect in making this hero a part of the English-speaking child's concept of the native races, especially as it has the sanction of being 'used in school' and is, therefore, *ipso facto*, indisputably true, while the Leatherstocking Tales and, even more, the Buffalo Bill stories are less frequently part of the pablum offered to the young.

Longfellow does not go to the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder for his material, though he might have done worse; in fact, it is quite possible that he *did* do worse, for he went to Mr. Schoolcraft, who was an Indian agent of great experience, a recognized authority on things Indian, and who had married an Indian woman. Surely *he* ought to know! But, just as surely, he didn't, or at any rate he also knew a lot of things that were not so, and as a result Longfellow's Hiawatha is a quite incredible melange of mistakes, of which more later.

The poet was really interested in Indians, and never missed an opportunity of seeing and conversing with them when they visited the East, usually in an effort to have the Government right some wrong or other. In a letter to his father, dated the 29th of October, 1837, he says: "There is a grand display of Indians in Boston, Black Hawk and some dozen other bold fellows, all grease and red paint; war-clubs, bears-teeth, and buffalo scalps in profusion; hair cut close, one cheek red, one black; forehead striped with bright yellow, with a sprinkling of flour between the eyes, -- this will fit almost any of them." (18)

It is hardly necessary to insist that the Indians of The Song of Hiawatha never existed. The process of idealization has not here been carried to the ridiculous lengths that we find in Chateaubriand's Atala but it is bad enough. Most adults realize this, and will usually agree that Fenimore Cooper's Indian is closer to the truth than is the Indian of Longfellow.

(7) The Buffalo Bill Indian, who comes closest to our modern concept, is really a Fenimore Cooper Indian who, being driven westwards till he reached the prairies, stole a horse and a rifle, discarded his bows and arrows, and stalked covered waggons instead of peaceful eastern farmers. The numerous tribes of Indians living on the prairies, especially the Dakota Sioux, are the ones who are responsible for introducing

the striking feather war-bonnets, and so standardized has this article become that an Indian is recognized as such principally by his wearing this ceremonial head-dress, which generally seems to elevate him in popular opinion to the rank of 'chief'.

The Wild West shows, such as that of William F. Cody, the original 'Buffalo Bill', helped greatly to fix this image in the mind of the general public, and so we find artists illustrating stories about Indians always with people dressed in this type of costume, no matter where the scene of the narrative be laid. Two instances that come to mind at once, no, three, are: A large painting which hangs in the Public Archives, in Ottawa, showing Indians greeting Champlain in 1607; An illustration in a story of Kipling's showing Cornplanter and Red Jacket talking with George Washington; A picture of the torture of Captain John Smith and his thrilling rescue by Pocahontas. (See Fig. 4) These all include Indians wearing this type of costume, which was not introduced even in its own district till after the Indians there acquired horses, about 1750, though the exact date can hardly be fixed. (19)

Apart from the externals of dress, arms and transportation, the 'Buffalo Bill' Indian has not changed at all from what he was when Fenimore Cooper was writing of him. In character, he is the same: crafty, treacherous, cruel, bloodthirsty, skilled in woodcraft, and all the rest of it. And yet the portrait is not altogether unlike the original. We must bear in mind that, after all, these various descriptions of the Indians were just that, -- actual descriptions, originally at first hand, of actual people, and therefore almost sure to contain more fact than fallacy.

The Buffalo Bill Indian was a familiar figure to the grandparents of many people living today, and to the great-grandparents of hundreds of thousands more. As a rule, they got along pretty well together, for the 'adventures' we read of were the points of stress, the 'high spots' in their intercourse. "More often than not, Indians and whites were in friendly contact, exchanging goods, information and knowledge of woodcraft, and were occasional guests in each other's homes." (20)

8. The Indian of Today. Like most elaborate mental concepts, the Indian, as conceived today, is a blend, a complex of many ideas. He is a mixture, in particular, of the Fenimore Cooper Indian, the Hiawatha Indian, and the Buffalo Bill Indian, with faint traces of the other 'Indians' we have mentioned showing here and there. Added to these literary backgrounds we have the thousand and one other sources of mental impressions, such as the stage, the movies, cartoons, sculpture, photographs, all of which have added shading here and a highlight there. Who would venture to estimate to what extent the 'Indian' nickle, the common five-cent coin of the United States, has influenced the mind of the general public as to the appearance of an

Indian? Literally millions of times people must have looked at this exquisite bit of craftsmanship, and said to themselves, "So that's an Indian! Well!"

So firmly is this common concept of the Indian fixed today, especially as regards costume and personal appearance, that the Indians themselves accept it, and whenever they have to appear in ceremonial costume , this raiment, or some slight modification of it, is what they choose to wear. Soon it will be described in the school books as the 'genuine original Indian costume', for no matter how anthropologists disseminate the truth as to the Indians, they never quite catch up with the fallacies.

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2. See for instance: Curran, J.W.; Holman, H.R.
3. Powell, p. 99
4. Bissell, p. 5
5. Bourne, p. 127
6. Baxter, p. 160
7. Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, 8:300
8. Leechman, pp. 41-52
9. Lescarbot, History of New France, 3:161
10. See Fairchild, *The Noble Savage*
11. Lescarbot, History of New France, 3:229
12. Lescarbot, History of New France, 2:325
13. Hilton, J. *The Lost Horizon*
14. See Fairchild, *passim*
15. Campbell, *The Pleasures of Hope*.
16. Leisy, p. 18
17. See also Keiser, pp. 101-143
18. Keiser, p. 191
19. Wissler, Indian of the United States, p.157; Handbook of North American Indians s.v. Horses
20. Wissler, Indians of the United States, p.xiv.

PART ONE

CHAPTER TWO.

THE "RED INDIAN" OF LITERATURE

> "Their bodies are all painted red to keepe away the biting of Muscetos. They goe all naked without couering. The haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length, pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes. They are continually in warres; and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. These people do poison their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone. They worsip the Deuill, for their God, and haue no other beliefe." (1)

It is proposed to quote, in this chapter, a few of the more typical accounts of the Indians which have appeared from 1493 onwards. In this way it will be possible to present, seriatim, portraits of the natives as they were offered to the readers of each succeeding century, that the growth of the popular concept discussed in the preceding chapter may be seen more clearly.

Many authors appear to scatter details of description more or less at random throughout their works, and the task of assembling these fragments and articulating them into a coherent whole proves a somewhat difficult one; moreover, any such undertaking is apt to produce a result which the author thus dealt with would denounce with some vigour. Writers have been selected for the present purpose, therefore, who have been something less diffuse in their methods, and who have provided more solid blocks of quotable matter.

Early Norse Contacts.

The Norsemen were undoubtedly the first people of European origin to come into direct contact with the natives of North America, but for our present purpose we may safely disregard this series of encounters. Norse accounts of the 'Skraelings', whether Eskimo, or Beothuk, or Micmac, or whatever they may have been, are to be found in the sagas, but these were not available to the mass of European readers till translated in the nineteenth century and thus had no effect in the forming of popular concepts of the Indians.

Norse visits appear to have been fairly frequent and to have extended over a number of years; one group actually stayed for as long as three years and met and traded with the natives, but they "produced no permanent effect on the Indian tribes inhabiting that area." (2)

The Fifteenth Century.

The first account of the inhabitants of the New World to appear was, naturally enough, that of Columbus himself. On his way back to Spain after his first voyage he wrote a letter, dated the 15th of February, 1493, to Luis de Santangel, the Escribano de Racion or controller of the king's household expenditures, announcing the success of his expedition and relating briefly some of the more important details, including an account of the natives of the West Indies.

This letter was published in Barcelona in April, 1493, and on the 29th of that month a slightly different version of it was translated into Latin: this was sent to Rome, where it was published in May, 1493. Reprints were made in Basle, Paris, and Antwerp, and the first German edition was printed in Strassburg in 1497, thus nearly corresponding in time with the first voyage of John Cabot. (3)

There is a good deal of matter concerning the natives in the "Letter", and this material has been abridged and condensed:

"I found very many islands peopled with inhabitants without number; with the people whereof I could not get speech, because they all fled away forthwith. I understood from other Indians whom I had already taken, that this land was an island. The hills thereof are high, and in it are very many ranges of hills, all most beautiful, and the nightingale was singing, and other birds of a thousand sorts, in the month of November, there where I was going.

"The people of this island, and of all the others that I have found and seen, or not seen, all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them forth; although some women cover a single place with the leaf of a plant, or a cotton something which they make for that purpose. They have no iron or steel, nor any weapons; nor are they fit thereunto; not because they be not a well-formed people and of fair stature, but because they are most wondrously timorous. It is true that since they have become more assured, and are losing that terror; they are artless and generous with what they have, to such a degree as no one would believe but him who had seen it. Of anything they have, if it be asked for, they never say no, but do rather invite the person to accept it, and show as much lovingness as though they would give their hearts. They even took pieces of broken barrel-hoops, and gave whatever they had, like senseless brutes; insomuch that it seemed to me bad. I forbade it.

"And they knew no sect, nor idolatry; save that they all believe that power and goodness are in the sky, and they believed very firmly that I, with these ships and crews, came from the sky, and this comes not because they are ignorant; on the contrary, they are men of very subtle wit, who navigate all these seas, and who give a marvellously good account of everything, but because they never saw men wearing clothes nor the like of our ships.

"As soon as I arrived in the Indies, in the first island that I found, I took some of them by force, to the intent that they should learn [our speech] and give me information of what there was in those parts. In this Espanola, in the place most suitable and best for its proximity to the gold mines, and for traffic with the mainland both on this side and with that over there belonging to the Great Can, where there will be great commerce and profit, I took possession of a large town which I named the city of Navidad.

"It seems to me that in all those islands, the men are all content with a single wife; and to their chief or king they give as many as twenty. The women, it appears to me, do more work than the men. Nor have I been able to learn whether they hold personal property, for it seemed to me that whatever one had, they all took share of, especially of eatable things. Down to the present I have not found in these islands any monstrous men, as many expected, but on the contrary all the people are very comely; nor are they black like those of Guinea, but have flowing hair; and they are not begotten where there is an excessive violence of the rays of the sun.

"In those islands, where there are lofty mountains, the cold was very keen there, this winter; but they endure it by being accustomed thereto, and by the help of the meats which they eat with many and inordinately hot spices.

"Thus I have not found nor had any information of monsters, except of an island which is here the second in the approach to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people whom, in all the islands, they regard as very ferocious, who eat human flesh. These have many canoes with which they run through all the islands of India, and plunder and take as much as they can. They are no more ill-shaped than the others. These are they which have to do with the women of Matinino, in which there are no men. Those women practise no female usages, but have bows and arrows of reed, and they arm and cover themselves with plates of copper of which they have much.

"In another island, which they assure me is larger than Espanola, the people have no hair. In this there is incalculable gold; and concerning these and the rest I bring Indians with me as witnesses. And in conclusion their Highnesses may see that I shall give them as much gold as they shall need, and slaves, as many as they shall order to be shipped, and these shall be from idolators. And I believe that I have discovered rhubarb and cinammon." (4)

There is much more about the natives in the Journal of Columbus' first voyage, but this was not available except in an abbreviated form till the nineteenth century; the main trend is much the same in any case, and the addition of details does no more than fill in the outlines already sketched.

It is evident on the face of it that Columbus was trying to give a straightforward and accurate account of the people he had discovered. His expressions of disappointment in not being able to exhibit any monsters show this, and his gratification at being able to produce real cannibals must have been considerable, for everybody had read Sir John Mandeville and Pierre d'Ailly, to say nothing of Marco Polo, and expected that all sorts of queer people would be discovered.

We may fairly assume that the members of the crews of his three ships were somewhat less restrained by scientific caution than was the Admiral himself. Tales of their adventures surely found many willing listeners, and these tales must have travelled far and fast, forming a popular concept.

Columbus died in 1506, in Spain. The lands he had discovered were already being colonized. His loving,generous, Indians were being enslaved and tortured by thousands. If he could have foreseen their fate, in those dark days when his crews threatened mutiny, would he have put back to Spain?

The Sixteenth Century.

The next account to be quoted from can not have been printed later than 1511. It is the first book in English about America, and it contains a most interesting description of the Indians. It is a small book, no more than a pamphlet, and it appears to have been based on two previous pamphlets in Dutch, which had been printed in Holland, as was this one too. It has no title in the strict sense of the word, but starts off in medias res with a heading which reads "Of the newe landes and of the people founde by the messengers of the kynge of portyngale named Emanuel".

Except for the modernization of the spelling which I have thought desirable, the account of the natives given in this little volume runs as follows:

"The people of the land have no king nor lord nor their god, but all things is common. This people goeth all naked, but the men and women have on their head, neck, arms, knees and feet all with feathers bounden for their beautiness and fairness. These folk live like beasts without any reasonableness and the women be also as common. And the men have conversation with the women who that they be or who they first meet, is she his sister, his mother, his daughter or any other kindred. And the women be very hot and disposed to lecherdness. And they eat also one another. The man eateth his wife, his children, as we also have seen and they hang also the bodies or persons flesh in the smoke as men do with us swine's flesh. And that land is right full of folk for they live commonly 300 years and more as with sickness they die not. And they war also one upon another for the old men bring the young men thereto that they gather a great company thereto of two parties and come the one against the other to the field or battle and slay one the other with great heaps.

And nowe [who?] holdeth the field they take the other prisoners. And they bring them to death and eat them and as the dead is eaten then slay they the rest. And they be then eaten also or otherwise live they longer times and many years more than other people for they have costly spices and roots where they themselves recover with and heal them as they be sick." (5)

It is interesting to compare the tissue of exaggerations and misapprehensions of this author (whose mother tongue was not English, by the way,) with Rastell's account in his Nature of the Four Elements which was published only a few years afterwards, and is notable for its freedom from errors and fallacies. In this case the spelling, being less archaic, is unaltered:

And what a great and meritoryouse dede
It were to haue the people instructed
To lyve more vertuously
And to lerne to knowe of men the maner
And also to knowe God theyr maker
Whiche as yet lyue all bestly
For they nother knowe God nor the deuell
Nor neuer harde tell of heuyn nor hell
Wrytynge nor other scripture
But yet in the stede of God almyght
The honour the sone for his great lyggt
For that doth them great pleasure

Buldynge nor house have non at all
But wodes cotes and cauys small
Nor meruyle though it be so
For they vse no maner of yron
Nother in tole nor other wepon
That shulde helpe them therto

> Copper they have whiche is founde
> In dyuers places aboue the grounde
> Yet they dyg not therefore
> For as I said they have non yryn
> Wherby they shuld in the yerth myne
> To search for any wore [ore?]
>
> But in the south parte of that contrey
> The people there go nakyd alway
> The lande is of so great hete
> And in the north parte all the clothes
> That they have is but bestes skynnes
> They have no nother fete
> But howe the people furst began
> In what countrey or whens they cam
> For clerkes it is a questyon." (6)

The question at once arises as to where these two authors obtained their information: Rastell's so accurate, and that of the author of "Of the newe landes" so grotesquely false. Rastell himself actually embarked on an expedition to Newfoundland or to Canada, but got no farther than Ireland owing to fraud and mismanagement. (7) Presumably he had gathered what information he could concerning the new land before his voyage began. Incidentally his account seems to apply more especially to the northern coast natives, and later, towards the end of his description, he turns to the people living in the warmer climate further south, as to a new section of his subject. John Cabot made his two voyages in 1497 and 1498, and, though there seem to be no written accounts of these expeditions extant, Rastell may well have talked with Cabot himself or with some of his officers or men. (8)

The account given in "Of the newe landes" on the other hand obviously refers to the West Indies and appears to be derived from Spanish sources. Columbus' Letter hardly affords a satisfactory basis for such a fabrication and one gains the impression that it is to be attributed to the romantic tales told by sailors who had returned safely from voyages into these fabulous seas.

Cartier's voyages in the 1530's led to encounters with many natives in eastern Canada and his description of these people is unusually complete. In general he agrees with Rastell; his natives, again like Rastell's, are definitely not the people of Columbus, nor those of the author who wrote "Of the newe landes". People in England, however, had not yet separated these two groups very clearly in their minds. We find even in Shakespeare's time all Indians considered pretty much the same whether they came from Canada or from Cuba, from Massachusetts or Mexico.

The second book in English to deal with America is an account of The Fyrste Viage of Americus Vesputius; it came out in 1553. (9) Some of the notes on the Indians have been selected for presentation here. The people living about 16 degrees north of the Equator, on the mainland, are under discussion, that is to say, the people of what are now Honduras and Nicaragua. The spelling has been modernized.

"We found a nation of naked people, of innumerable multitude. They suffer no hair to grow on their bodies saving only on their head. They keep war against their borderers which are of strange language. They have no magistrates. Their bodies are very smooth and clean by reason of their often washing. They are in other things filthy and without shame. The women travail in manner without pain, so that the next day they are cheerful and able to walk. They eat no kind of flesh except man's flesh: for they eat all such as they kill in their wars, or otherwise take by chance."(10)

Not much detail to be sure, but again we can recognize the familiar West Indian type, that is to say, Carib and Arawak Indians, as we know now. They held the centre of the literary stage for a long time after the Discovery in 1492 and Defoe's famous Man Friday in Robinson Crusoe plays their last prominent role in fiction.

After the middle of the sixteenth century books of travel became more frequent and so too did accounts of the Indians. The Decades of Peter Martyr and the works of Richard Eden may be mentioned in addition to the numerous Spanish accounts of their exploration and conquest of Middle America. So numerous did these books of travel become that it occurred to a number of scientists and scholars of that day that these scattered records, documents, pamphlets, and books of travel should be collected and published . Foremost among these editors was Richard Hakluyt, whose first collection appeared as Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America in 1582, a quarto volume published in London. In 1589 appeared the first edition of his chief collection The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation. This was a single volume; a few years later, 1598-1600, the second and much larger edition in three volumes came out, and on this rests his fame. His work is an invaluable source book for the historian and the geographer, no less than for the anthropologist. They contain many accounts of the natives of North America, as well as of many other parts of the world, and have been called "the prose epic of the modern English nation". Selecting almost at random from Hakluyt's pages, here is an account of the people of the Saguenay, as seen by John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, in 1542.

"To declare unto you the state of the Savages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked; and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would be as white and as fayre; butthey paint themselves for feare of heat and sunne burning.

"In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes upon them like mantles; and they have a small payre of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. They have hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they have no shirts: neither cover they their heads, but their hayre is trussed up above the crowne of their heads, and playted and

Broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all unsalted, but they drye it, and afterwards they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. They have no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may best finde food, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

"Touching their bread, they make very good and it is of great myll [maize]: and they live very well; for they care for nothing else.

"They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts. They have a king in every Countrey, and are wonderful obedient unto him: and they doe honour him according to their maner and fashion. And when they travayle from place to place, they carry all their goods with them in their boates.

"Their women nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continuously, and are wrapped about their bellies with skynnes of furre." (11)

The Seventeenth Century.

Hakluyt's work was continued by Purchas, who acknowledged the source of his inspiration in the title of his principal work: Hakluyt Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. This came out in 1625 and is of much the same type as the compilation of his master, Hakluyt. It, too, contains many valuable and detailed references to the Indians.

Early in the seventeenth century, appeared a little work of more than ordinary interest, The Theatre of Neptune, a one-act play or masque, written and produced by Marc Lescarbot at Port Royal in 1606. In it appear four Indians, as well as a number of mythological figures, and its style is typical of its period. It will be discussed in more detail in the section on the drama.

Four years later, that is, in 1610 or 1611, Shakespeare wrote The Tempest, which I discussed at some length to show that Caliban is a North American Indian portrayed as a monster, both to provide comic relief and also as a foil to the beautiful Miranda. (12) Arber finds that Shakespeare "created the character of Caliban in The Tempest out of the description of the Patagonian giants" in the Decades of Peter Martyr, a point which was made by me in accounting for the reference to Setebos, the god of Caliban's mother, who was the god called upon by two of these same giants when they were captured by white invaders and held in chains.

In the Narratives of New Netherlands, Jameson quoted a letter written in 1628 by the Reverend Jonas Michaëlius which reads in part as follows:

"As to the natives of this country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as garden poles, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men who serve nobody but the Devil, that is, the spirit which in their language they call Menetto [Manitou]; under which title they comprehend everything that is subtile and crafty and beyond human skill and power. They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery and wicked arts, that they can hardly be held in by any bands or locks. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall; and in cruelty they are altogether inhuman, more than barbarous, far exceeding the Africans [a people among whom he had worked]. (13)

Such a point of view, largely pre-occupied with the theological, is typical of many of the dissenting ministers of the period, who felt that the Indians were decidedly unpleasant people, to say the least of it, but that duty obliged them, as missionaries, to see to it that the opportunity of salvation was offered to these natives, worthy or not.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Indians of Mexico and Peru were brought to the attention of English theatre-goers in Davenant's operas and Dryden's plays, as we have already seen. Here, too, as in the case of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, there are many isolated remarks and comments to be found in the literature, but hardly a single sketch drawn solidly at a sitting and suitable for quotation to show how the author of the period imagined a 'Red Indian'.

In 1676 appeared the first of the 'captivities', that remarkable series of narratives, relating the sufferings of the men, women, and children who were captured by the Indians and who either escaped, or were ransomed, if they were fortunate enough to survive. Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, the wife of the minister at Lancaster, was taken prisoner in an Indian attack on that village on the 10th of February, 1675. She carried her little child with her, a child sick and wounded who died a slow death in her very arms. The Indians moved camp some twenty times in their flight and she was obliged to keep pace with them on all these 'removes' at the risk of being tomahawked if she lagged behind. She suffered a great deal from cold, hunger, fatigue, and the lack of proper clothing and shelter, to say nothing of intense mental stress. Her one consolation was her Bible which she carried constantly with her during the seven weeks and five days of her captivity.

The descriptions of the Indians in such accounts may readily be imagined. They were seen as fiends incarnate, the very embodiment of malignant cruelty, and such they must indeed have appeared to their victims. On the other hand it is interesting to note that many who had been taken prisoner as children and had grown up with the Indians, or adults who had voluntarily gone to live with the natives, were all equally firm in refusing to return to 'civilized' life on any terms. They found the Indians much better friends, and the Indian life a much better way of living than ours and had no wish to change.

The Eighteenth Century.

Fairchild (14) says "the Indian of North America first appears as a character in English imaginative literature as a character in John Dennis' Liberty Asserted."(1704) "The scene is laid in Canada, and the author's purpose is to contrast English liberty and French tyranny." An original copy of this play may be seen in the Public Archives at Ottawa; its small print, discoloured paper and cramped format will discourage any but the most persevering, and even they will be but poorly rewarded. Dr. Fairchild is apparently right in his statement, for the only other contestants for the honour of being 'first Indian character' who I have been able to find are the four Indians in Lescarbot's Theatre of Neptune, which belongs in French, rather than in English, imaginative literature; and Caliban, in The Tempest, who Dr. Fairchild presumably does not consider as a native of North America, justifiably enough. Defoe's Man Friday appears only in 1719, fifteen years too late to be considered a rival of Dennis' characters, and he is a Carib of the West Indies.

An anonymous author, mention of whom I have not been able to find in any works consulted, wrote The Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman. The title-page shows that it was published by Freeman in London in 1743. The hero was shipped out of England by a wicked uncle or some other designing relative and sold into slavery in America, where he spent many miserable years. There are, in this book, a number of references to the Indians; there are also Indian characters. One of these, a girl named Torquois, falls in love with the hero at the same time that his owner's daughter admits an affection for him. He describes her, (with the spelling modernized) as follows: "He now found himself with two mistresses of different complexions and manners; the one was born and brought up in paganism, though with her family lately turned to the worship of the true God, more out of form than faith. She was not above thirteen years of age and tall, and had an admirable shape; her features were regular to a nicety; her eyes full of sweetness and lustre, and her skin so much whiter than what is ordinarily found among the natives of that country, that she might very well have passed for an European, and if here would have been called a brown beauty: she was innocent, good-natured, and knew not the art of disguising her thoughts; but as the Iroquois in general are impatient in misfortunes, and restrained by no considerations whatever, from gratifying their inclinations, she showed that she degenerated not from her race, but had in composition all the violence, the resolution, though not all the thirst of revenge some of them have manifested." (15)

Eventually our Indian heroine drowns herself, being very 'impatient in misfortunes'; the Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman are well worth reading as far as the American section of the story is concerned. Later the hero returns to England and the tale bogs down in a morass of titles and intrigue. Some very early uses of typical American words such as "pone" and "mush" are to be found in it, and there is good reason to assume that the author must have been a visitor to the New World at some time in his career.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, appeare The Life of Harriot Stuart by Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, the daughter of Colonel James Ramsay, lieutenant-governor of New York; she was born in 1720 and lived in a fort near Albany till 1735, when her family returned to England. On her father's death she was left unprovided for, whereupon she turned to writing with great success. The Life of Harriot Stuart (1751) in which the memories of the Indians of her childhood days in New York appear with a good deal of vividness met with a good reception. (16)

At this time the influence of Rousseau was beginning to make itself felt; his Discourse on Inequality appeared in 1752, and there is no doubt that he, in his turn, had been influenced by Harriot Stuart, or by similar accounts of the 'noble savage' living the 'simple life' in America.

The first Canadian novel was to make its bow not many years later. This was Mrs. Frances Brooke's History of Emily Montague which was published in 1769. There are numerous references to the Indians in it, some of which will be discussed later, for she was much more discerning that the average writer of the period when considering matters relating to the natives.

We have to thank Mr. L.J.Burpee for a recent edition of this very interesting item in Canadian fiction, which he published in 1931.

Strictly English authors, too, began to take a fresh interest in the Indian, as witness Mackenzie's Man of the World (1773) which introduces North American natives, as does also Smollett's The Expedition of Humphry Clinker (1771). We find in this last a burlesque description of an Indian girl, which it is interesting to contrast with that of Torquois in the Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman. "His princess had neither shoes, shift, nor any kind of linen; her bridal dress consisted of a petticoat of red baize, and a fringed blanket, fastened about her shoulders with a copper skewer; but of ornaments she had great plenty. Her hair was curiously plaited, and interwoven with bobbins of human bone -- one eyelid was painted green and the other yellow; the cheeks were blue, the lips white, the teeth red, and there was a black list down the middle of her forehead as far as the tip of the nose; a couple of gaudy parrot's feathers were stuck through the division of the nostrils; there was a blue stone set in the chin; her ear-rings consisted of two pieces of hickory, of the size and shape of drumsticks; her arms and legs were adorned with bracelets of wampum; her breast glittered with numerous strings of glass beads; she wore a curious pouch, or pocket, of woven grass, elegantly painted with various colours; about her neck was hung the fresh scalp of a Mohawk warrior, whom her deceased lover had lately slain in battle; and, finally, she was anointed from head to foot with bear's grease, which sent forth a most agreeable odour." (17)

Such a description gives an idea of the general concept of the day, since burlesque consists in emphasizing to a ridiculous degree characteristics which are, or are felt to be, actually present in the person or thing burlesqued.

It may be noticed that, with the exception of Robinson Crusoe, the Indians of the eighteenth century are natives of the eastern part of North America. The Mexican and Peruvian, the West Indian, even the Virginian Indians are seldom heard of now, and the stage is dominated by the Indians with whom the early settlers in the New England States and Canada came most in contact.

At the end of the century we find a group of writers who made conscious use of the Indian as a definite character, and as an essential part of the American scene. Among these are: Mrs. Ann Eliza Bleeker, whose History of Maria Kittle was published in New York in 1793; Captain Gilbert Imlay, the common law husband of Mary Wollstoncraft Godwin, whose The Emigrants was published in the same year; Mrs. Susanna Rowson's Rueben and Rachel came out in 1798; and, much better known than any of these, Charles Brown's Edgar Huntley (1799). It has frequently been claimed that Brown was "the first author to use the Indian as a character" (18) but we are now well aware that such was not the case.

Mrs. Bleeker's History of Maria Kittle is written in the epistolary style made so popular by Richardson, and is modeled, in so far as material goes, on the Indian 'captivities'. It seems probable that it was based on the actual adventures of the author's husband during an Indian foray; the Indians are the usual blood-thirsty savages who murder everybody but the heroine herself. (19)

In Brown's Edgar Huntley, as in all the other books of this period, the Indians are not individualized. They are merely savages, cruel and treacherous, grotesquely painted and uncouth. Brown sketches one as follows: "His disfigured limbs, pendants from his ears and nose, and his shorn locks, were indubitable indications of a savage." Not an attractive picture, and certainly not a convincing one.

The Nineteenth Century.

If the eighteenth century saw an increase in the number of "Indian books", the nineteenth saw the stream swell into a flood. (20) In fact they seem to have been at the height of their popularity then, for the end of the century saw a rapid decrease. At the end of the first quarter came the Leatherstocking Tales of Fenimore Cooper, and in the middle of it Longfellow's Hiawatha, which took the forts of literature by storm, the highwater mark of poetical presentation of the North American Indian.

It was in this century, too, that the transition was made from the Indian of the New England States as the 'typical' Indian, to the Prairie Indian; a transition made by Cooper himself when he wrote The Pioneers and pushed his scene into the Middle West. Campbell had already led the way in his Gertrude of Wyoming, and both Chateaubrian in Atala and Southey in Madoc had reminded their readers that there were other Indians to the south and to the west, equally interesting and equally valuable as source material for an author.

It would be unprofitable to attempt a close scrutiny of the works of all of the many men who have written of this Indian in the nineteenth century, for the work has already been done from the standpoint of literature by Keiser, Farley, Bissel, Fairchild and others. The portrait of the Indian to which aur attention is now drawn is to be found in the works of many authors; they are indeed so numerous as to make a choice a little difficult. One of the best, perhaps, is to be found in The Journal of Julius Rodman where Poe gives the following account of the Sioux, which, though rather long, is of interest for the great attention to detail:

"In person, the Sioux generally are an ugly, ill-made race, their limbs being much too small for their trunk, according to our ideas of the human form; their cheek bones are high, and their eyes protruding and dull. The heads of the men are shaved with the exception of a small spot on the crown, whence a long tuft is permitted to fall in plaits upon the shoulders; this tuft is an object of scrupulous care, but it is now and then cut off, upon an occasion of grief or solemnity. A full-dressed Sioux chief presents a striking appearance. The whole surface of the body is painted with grease and coal. A shirt of skins is worn as far down as the waist, while round the middle is a girdle of the same material, and sometimes of cloth, about an inch in width; this supports a piece of blanket or fur passing between the thighs. Over the shoulders is a white-dressed buffalo mantle, the hair of which is worn next the skin in fair weather, but turned outwards in wet. This robe is large enough to envelop the whole body, and is frequently ornamented with porcupine quills (which make a rattling noise as the warrior moves) as well as a great variety of rudely painted figures, emblematical of the wearer's military character. Fastened to the top of the head is a hawk's feather, adorned with porcupine quills. Leggings of dressed antelope skin serve the purpose of pantaloons, and have seams at the sides about two inches wide, bespotted here and there with small tufts of human hair, the trophies of some scalping expedition. The moccasins are of elk or buffalo skin, the hair worn inside; on great occasions the chief is seen with the skin of a polecat dangling at the heel of each boot. The Sioux are indeed partial to this noise-some animal, whose fur is in high favor for tobacco-pouches and other appendages. The dress of a chieftain's squaw is also remarkable. Her hair is suffered to grow long, is parted across the forehead, and hangs loosely behind, or is collected into a kind of net. Her moccasins do not differ from her husband's; but her leggings extend upwards only as far as the knees, where they are met by an awkward shirt of elk skin depending to the ankle, and supported above by a string going over the shoulders. This shirt is usually confined to the waist by a girdle, and over all is thrown a buffalo mantle like that of the men."

Such was the Indian as pictured by most of the authors of the stories of Buffalo Bill down to the writers of material for the Wild West magazines of today. Such was the Indian as seen on the United States nickle, the Indian of the long feather head-dress in the parades and at the exhibitions, and in the Wild West shows, the Indians of the moving pictures and of the children's play suits.

The Twentieth Century.

The Indian story still continues to be written, but today the Indian is not so generalised. He is more likely to belong to some specific tribe, and his creator is more careful in dealing with actual facts and with background. Frederick Remington in such books as The Way of an Indian (1906) especially has made a definite effort to attain accuracy. Edna Ferber in Cimarron portrays a small group of Indians of a quite abnormal kind, those living in the rich oil-fields, who suddenly found themselves quite incredibly wealthy. The sardonic humour of the situation, in which the white man thought he had pushed the Indians off into a corner on absolutely waste land, only to find that he had given them all that they could desire and more, is cleverly developed.

Another author who has established a reputation for accurate recording of the Indian's ways is Kenneth Roberts, the author of Northwest Passage and of Arundel, both of which came out about 1936. Roberts, perhaps, comes closer to a true picture of the Indian than do most of his predecessors; few indeed are the fallacies to be culled from his pages.

Washington Irving in A Tour of the Plains says "As far as I can judge, the Indian of poetical fiction is like the shepherd of pastoral romance, a mere personification of mere attributes" (21) and who shall say, after reading these various descriptions, that he was mistaken.

The Indian Drama.

By the 'Indian' drama is meant those plays in which Indian characters play an important part. At one time, between 1820 and 1850 especially, such plays were very popular in the United States. The history of this particular branch of the drama parallels closely that of the Indian in imaginative literature and has in addition a number of features of interest peculiarly its own. (22)

Marc Lescarbot's Theatre de Neptune was undoubtedly the first dramatic production in North America, if we may exclude from consideration any native theatrical performance, of which, it may be mentioned in passing, there may have been some on the Pacific Coast, where the drama had reached a surprisingly high degree of development.

The circumstances in which this masque was written and produced are of such interest that it is felt that some account of them may justifiably be included, although, the effects of the play on the development of the popular concept of the Indian was, it must be admitted, probably nil.

The year was 1606. That was two years before the date of the founding of Quebec; four years before Shakespeare wrote The Tempest; sixteen years before the landing of the much-publicised Pilgrim Fathers. The Sieur de Poitrincourt had established a small settlement at Port Royal in what is now Nova Scotia. Among his companions was Marc Lescarbot, the author of an Histoire de la Nouvelle France which appeared in Paris in 1609, a time, one would think, when New France had precious little history to write about.

On the occasion which immediately concerns us, de Poitrincourt had gone to visit the Armouchiquois along the coast, leaving Lescarbot and a number of others behind in the new settlement. On the 14th of November, he returned and they "received him joyfully, and with a solemnity altogether new in that part. For about the time that we expected his returne (with great desire, and that so much the more, that if any harme had happened him, we had beene in danger to have confusion among our selves) I aduised my selfe to shew some jollity going to meet him, as we did. And for so much as it was in French verses made in haste, I have placed them with the Muses of Nova Francia by the title of Neptunes Theatre, whereunto I refer the Reader".(23)

On referring to the Muses, the verses entitled Neptunes Theatre prove to be a masque of 242 rhymed lines. There are twelve characters: Neptune himself, six Tritons, four Indians and a 'jovial attendant'. At the opening Neptune appears garbed in blue, with long white hair and beard, with a trident in his hand, and drawn in his chariot by the Tritons. They go out to meet de Poitrincourt who is in a small boat which he has entered to go ashore. Neptune addresses de Poitrincourt, tells him who he is, how he has befriended him in the past, and speaks of the great destiny he sees for his settlement in the New World; he calls de Poitrincourt by the title 'Sagamos' an Abenaki word meaning a chief or ruler.

Then the Tritons speak, singing his praises and welcoming him back. Then come the four Indians in their canoes; they make him presents of moose meat, beaver skins, and shell ornaments (probably wampum) and one Indian, who has had no fortune in hunting asks for caracona, which is bread. De Poitrincourt then invites them to the fort (his lines having been slipped into his hand, presumably) and they all proceed to go ashore where they are met by the 'jovial attendant', who, in his turn, greets de Poitrincourt and bids the cooks proceed with serving a feast.

Lescarbot assures us that the masque was actually produced as he had written it. There is no reason to doubt that we have here the first dramatic performance to be either written or played by white men in North America, unless there may have been similar incidents in Mexico or further south, in the areas under Spanish domination, a not improbable case. (24)

The performance of plays seems to have been in great favour among the early settlers in Quebec and there are several references to theatrical performances in The Jesuit Relations. Some of these were abbreviations or adaptations of French plays which were already familiar to some of the French of the better classes, who had probably seen them played in France

In some cases, scenes were added for the benefit of the Indian members of the audience. One such occasion is referred to on the 10th of September, 1640:

"Last year we made bonfires for the birth of Monseigneur the Dauphin; we entreated God by a solemn procession to make this child like his father. Our joy and our affection were not kept within the bounds of one year; Monsieur the

Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, wishing to prolong it, has had a Tragi-Comedy represented this year, in honour of the new-born prince. I would not have believed that so handsome apparel and so good actors could be found in Kébec Sieur Martial Piraubé, who had charge of this performance, and who represented the chief personage, succeeded excellently well, but in order that our Savages might derive some benefit from it, Monsieur the Governor, endowed with uncommon zeal and prudence, invited us to put something into it which might strike their eyes and their ears. We had the soul of an unbeliever pursued by two demons, who finally hurled it into a hell that vomitted forth flames; the struggles, cries and shrieks of this soul, and of these demons, who spoke in the Algonquin tongue, penetrated so deeply into the hearts of some of them, that a Savage told us, two days afterward, that he had been greatly frightened that night by a horrible dream." (25)

In 1646 there is another reference to Indians attending a play, and in 1658 the missionary fathers and their pupils presented a play at their school: "July 28, Monsieur the governor did us the honour ---- of coming to dine at our house. There he was received by the [native] youths of the country with a little drama in French, Huron, and Algonquin, in our garden, in the sight of all the people of Quebec." (25)

There are several other references to theatrical performances in the Relations, but they seem to have little or no bearing on the Indians, either as performers or as spectators. It is interesting indeed that Marc Lescarbot should have had actual Indians performing in his Theatre of Neptune. (26)

There is every reason to suppose that many plays were produced in the seventeenth century of which no record remains. Many of them, perhaps, were never written out in full except for the prompter's script; of others, but few copies can have ever existed. Captain John Smith in his True Travels says "they have acted my fatal tragedies on the stage and wracked my relations at their pleasure." (27) This statement was published in 1630, before Cromwell, and when the theatre was in one of its periods of ascendancy.

It is not until the Restoration that we encounter more plays in which Indian characters are prominent: we have referred already to the operas of Sir William Davenant and to the plays of Dryden which were such a success and which worked such revolutionary changes in the technique and mechanics of staging and production.

All,this, however, with the exception of The Theatre of Neptune,was in England. In America, the theatre was almost non-existent, both the scantiness of the population and the frowns of the Puritan element militating against any proposal to establish a theatre even in the largest settlement.

It was not until 1750 that the theatre appeared on this side of the Atlantic. Indian characters are found almost from the beginning in minor roles, merely as local colour, by way of proof that the scene was actually laid in America. As usual, many more plays were written than were ever produced. Among those which never saw the light was Ponteach; or, The Savages of America by Major Robert Rogers, the famous commander of Rogers' Rangers, recently pictured in Northwest Passage. The book was published in London and re-issued in Chicago by the Caxton Club in 1914.

Major Rogers was as well informed as any man of his time as to the Indian question and he was by no means one of those who felt that all the wrongs were on the Indian side and all the rights on the white man's. He was well aware that the Indians had been cheated and swindled unmercifully, that traders took every advantage of their ignorance of white customs and of their inability to read, to understand our weights and measures or to follow our methods of accounting. The opening scenes of Ponteach go into this question pretty thoroughly and one gains the impression that Rogers is taking advantage of this opportunity to say a number of things that have been on his mind for some time. Once this is done, however, the play becomes deadly dull and it is not surprising that it was never produced.

The first play in which Indians have a major part to be actually produced was entitled Tammany. It was written by Mrs. Hatton, née Anne Kemble, of the theatrically famous Kemble family, and is in the form of an operatic spectacle. It was never printed as a play although the lyrics were published separately. It was first played on March 3rd, 1794, and was not much of a success. A large party of Indians, present on the opening night, were not at all well impressed with this effort to portray their countrymen. (28)

This was the first trickle of what was to become a veritable flood of 'Indian' plays. Two others followed early in the nineteenth century, namely Croswell's A New World Planted (1802) and Barker's The Indian Princess (14 June 1808). Neither of these is of particular interest, except as an indication of the growing importance of the Indian as a stage character.

On the 15th of December, 1829, Edwin Forrest gave the first performance of his most famous role, that of Metamora, in the play of the same name. Forrest had offered a prize of $500 for the best play, with an American setting, which would be a suitable vehicle for his personal, and somewhat exaggerated, style of acting. John Augustus Stone, then only twenty-eight, submitted Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags and won the prize. As a play, it is slight; the leading character is an Indian, and the role fitted Forrest so perfectly that he could pour all of his undoubtedly great ability into it. It was an immediate and immense success, so much so that a host of obvious imitations promptly sprang up. None of them was nearly as successful as the original play, nor was anybody else as effective in this or any other Indian role as was Forrest Himself.

This host of imitations swarmed for about ten years, and was finally extinguished by an extravagant burlesque Pocahontas, or The Gentle Savage by John Brougham, in 1855, which simply laughed all remaining Indian plays out of existence. In 1846, James Rees had said that the Indian drama had become a 'perfect nuisance', and there is no doubt that people had been offered more of this fare than they could endure.

The following list of titles of 'Indian' plays gives some idea of the situation between 1830 and 1840: Sassacus, or the Indian Wife. Kairrissah. Oraloosa. Outalassie. The Pawnee Chief. Onylda, or the Pequot Maid. Ontiata, or the Indian Heroine. Osceola. Oroonoka. Tuscatomba. Wacousta. The Wept of Wish-ton-wish. Tutoona. Yemassee. Wissahickon. Carabasset. Hiawatha. Naramattah. Miautomah. Eagle Eye. Lamorah. The Wigwam. The Manhattoes. The Indian Prophecy. (29)

One of the more important plays to follow immediately after Metamora was Pocahontas by George Custis. It was first presented on the 28th of December, 1830. Custis does not make his Indians speak blank verse, which is a blessing, but their English is sufficiently ornate, nevertheless. Matacoran reflects: "How oft have I plunged into the depths of the forests, and pierced with my arrows the bird of many dyes, that with its beauteous feathers I might plume the coronet of Pocahontas." Paint and feathers are the distinguishing mark of the Indians, as in all such plays. Captain John Smith is much to the fore, of course, and evidently is still of the opinion that the Indians will eventually devour his 'corse'. "It matters not", he says, "whether it shall gorge the maws of thy cannibals."

Eight years later, on the 8th of February, 1838, yet another Pocahontas appeared, this one being by Robert Dale Owen, and marks the last appearance of this particular heroine for a long time, as far as any important play is concerned. Not that she is dead yet, for only recently The New World Illustrated, a new-comer to the list of Canadian magazines, published a story written and illustrated by one Fortunino Mataria entitled "The Princess Pocahontas, The Red Indian Beauty who Captivated London" (June, 1940). It shows Pocahontas and all the other Indians who, as we all know, lived on the coast of Virginia, dressed in the familiar type of costume which was developed years later many hundreds of miles away on the prairies, among tribes of Indians totally unknown to the redoubtable Captain Smith, or to Pocahontas herself for that matter. (See Fig.4)

While Pocahontas was undoubtedly the most popular of the Indian heroines, there was a wider choice of famous male characters such as Ponteach, Tecumseh, King Philip (Yamoyden), Hiawatha and Osceola. Tecumseh came to the fore in 1886, in a play written by Charles Mair, a Canadian, which was first published in Toronto. When this first edition went out of print, Mr. Mair followed it with another in 1901, also published in Toronto.

In his second edition, the author says that "For his own part, the writer may say with regard to the book now in hand, that its colouring, at any rate, is due to a life-time's observation of those primitive inter-racial and formative influences which, ---- are the source of Canadian tradition."(30) But his observations can not have been very careful, for he uses such expressions as 'pale-face', 'red-man' and so on very freely, evidently under the impression that these are quite natural expressions on the lips of his Indian characters, and he is firmly convinced that a 'sacred fire' was a very important adjunct to Tecumseh's religion, an assumption which does not coincide with the facts. The style is laboured and artificial, not at all interesting. Here is a short selection from a monologue by Tecumseh himself:

> "The pale hounds who uproot our ancient graves
> Come whining for our lands with fawning tongues,
> And schemes and subterfuge and subtleties.
> O for a Pontiac to drive them back
> And whoop them to their shuddering villages.
> O for an age of valor like to his,
> When freedom clothed herself with solitude,
> And one in heart the scattered nations stood,
> And one in hand. It comes. And mine shall be
> The lofty task to teach them to be free --
> To knit the nations, bind them into one,
> And end the task great Pontiac begun."

Plays with important Indian characters have not been numerous in the twentieth century, but neither have they been entirely neglected. In 1905, William C. DeMille's Strongheart appeared, dealing with the modern Indian, and in 1911 Mary Austin's Arrowmaker, with pre-Columbian Indians as characters. In 1924, on the 2nd of September, was played the first performance of Rose-Marie, a very charming light opera, with its scenes laid in Canada. The music was by Rudolf Friml, and the book by Otto Harbach. (31) It was a decided success and some of the melodies, such as The Indian Love Call and Totem Tom-tom were whistled and sung for many months afterwards. Indeed they are far from dead today. It is a little unfortunate that totem-poles should have been introduced into the Kootenay Pass, where they are as strange as soupe-aux-pois in Florida, but such a slip may be put down to poetic license, or some such excuse recognized as valid among playwrights.

The parallel between the vogue for the Indian in fiction and in drama is now, I feel, apparent. By way of summary, here are condensed some results of an investigation made by P.I. Reed and presented in his Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays. He deals with the period from the beginning of the theatre in America to 1870, and, as to Indians as characters, his examination shows this:

1751-1774	Comparatively small use made of Indians
1774-1787	Indian parts are absent from the Revolutionary plays
1787-1796	Indian characters are as yet negligible
1796-1805	Indian characters are almost wholly neglected
1806-1815	Indian characters, in many ways idealized, are just beginning to attract favorable notice. The only important Indian play of this time is Barker's The Indian Princess (1808)
1815-1829	Indian characters begin to appear with some frequency during the decade of the twenties. This evident interest in Indian life may have offered a suggestion to John A. Stone who in 1829 wrote Metamora for Edwin Forrest
1829-1845	Indian characters, both idealized and real, appear in large numbers. Fundamentally they seem as true to life as a general personal acquaintance or the best historical information would make possible. Of course, the dramatic Indians often speak and act as natives would not; yet one can not help feeling that the characterizations are fairly accurate, especially for a time when declamatory acting was in favor.
1845-1860	A significant falling off in the use of Indian characters is to be noted
1860-1870	No mention of Indian characters

It may not be significant, but it is at least worthy of note, that there has been no great play devoted to the Indian, nothing of the same status in drama as Hiawatha occupies in poetry, for instance, or as do Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales in fiction. Nevertheless if this statement had been made just a hundred years ago, there would undoubtedly have been a general chorus of denial and a prompt pointing of fingers to Metamora as in every way a worthy companion for the immortals. After Forrest's death many essayed the role he made famous, but none ever played it as he had done, and we see now that the immortality, or what there was of it, lay not in the play but in the player.

The Indian in Poetry.

Poetry, like the drama, ran side by side with other forms of literature, and little is to be gained by giving the subject separate treatment.

Poetical adulation of the Indian was not a popular recreation in the early days of our settlement of the country. The natives were anything but fit subjects for poetry in the eyes of the pioneers; they were rather objects of unmitigated terror. In later years, the Puritan New Englanders looked upon the Indian, not only as a dangerous enemy, but also as a disciple of the devil, and therefore doubly a menace to the peace. It was not till he was quite subjugated and on the verge of disappearing into the dim mists of a romantic past that his possibilities as a source of poetical inspiration were realized and drawn upon. (32)

There was a glut of poems of little value at the same time that the 'Indian' drama was rampant, and just as sudden an ebb. Apart from Longfellow's Hiawatha there is no poetic treatment of the Indian which ranks in the very first class, but several 'seconds'. Notable among these are Southey's Madoc, Bryant's The Prairies (in which he has the Mound-Builders domesticating the buffalo!), Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming and, very high among this group, Edna Dean Proctor's The Song of the Ancient People which received the favorable comments, not only of literary critics, but also of anthropologists. It was reviewed at some length in The American Anthropologist by W.Matthews, who said: "Heretofore poets have dwelt mostly on the combative and revengeful elements of the Indian character and have overlooked the contemplative and religious nature. In Miss Proctor's poem there is no flashing of angry eyes, no calling upon gods that never existed in the Indian pantheon, no muttering of curses that the Indians never knew till white men taught them, no digging up of hatchets; in short, none of the worn-out stage properties with which we are so well and so wearily acquainted." (33)

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PART ONE

CHAPTER THREE

THE POPULAR CONCEPT AS IT IS TODAY

> "There is little doubt that the world's idea of the Indian has been gained from the Leather-Stocking Tales, and that the Indian as painted by Cooper will be the Indian of literature for all time. Whether [these Indians] were true to nature in every respect may be open to doubt, but this matters but little." (1)

We have now traced the growth of the popular concept of the North American Indian in some detail and we have also made some examination of the soil from which this growth derived its nourishment. It now remains to look at the flower, the concept as it stands today in what is, for the moment, its full bloom.

It is very easy to assume that the popular opinion on any given topic is well known; in fact, we often take it for granted that our own opinion is the general one, unless we happen to be dealing with some topic on which we have special knowledge or concerning which we are a prey to special emotional prejudices. However, in discussing the modern concept of the Indian, though it is daily revealed to us in print and moving picture, in painting and sculpture, I felt that a more thorough enquiry should be made and with this end in view devised a list of fifty statements which was submitted to a total of 483 school children and other students, ranging in age from twelve to over twenty.

The results were of great interest and, in some respects, not at all what was expected, showing that it would not have been at all safe to take the popular opinion for granted. It may be argued, and with some reason, that a larger proportion of adults should have been asked to answer the questionnaire. This need was indeed felt and an effort was made in that direction, but such serious difficulties were encountered that the attempt had to be abandoned. It seemed impossible to get adults to admit ignorance, or even to run the risk of revealing ignorance, on such a commonplace topic as Red Indians. They appeared quite unable to distinguish between a 'general information' test and an 'intelligence' test and, instead of giving their honest belief would endeavour to revise their knowledge of the Indian as they progressed through the list of statements. It was obvious that any such answers, even though carefully selected, would be untrustworthy.

This difficulty was much less of a stumbling block in the schools. Once it was explained to the students that their answers were anonymous, and that their intelligence was not being investigated, they were ready enough to co-operate and the answers are, for the most part, sincere and straightforward.

One very serious difficulty lay in the framing of the statements, which were to be marked as true or false. There are so few categorical statements that can be made about the North American Indian that finding fifty of them prooved a troublesome task. The situation was improved somewhat by limiting the area to Eastern Canada, that is to say, to the Algonquin Indians and some of the Huron-Iroquois group. Even here some of the statements were ambiguous, as will be apparent when they are examined in more detail.

One satisfying aspect of the case was that it was the popular concept itself which was being tested, and the truth or error of the answers was in itself immaterial. In any event, very decided opinions were expressed on some of the points discussed, and in other cases the answers were about equally divided, presumably indicating that there was no very definite belief on the point or that it was not part of the popular concept; that is, it had seldom been given any consideration.

In the following pages the fifty statements of the questionnaire are taken in order, and the general results are shown. It has not been thought necessary to separate the opinions of the various age groups, except in cases where some special point appeared to deserve comment.

The questionnaire was submitted to 128 students at the Provincial Normal School in Ottawa, and to 355 students, all boys, at St. Patrick's College, also in Ottawa. This latter group included students of St. Patrick's College High School. The age groups in the St. Patrick's College and High School groups ran as follows:

AGE	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
12-13	26
14	44
15	60
16	85
17	69
18	33
19	18
20 & over	20
	355

Most of the students in the Provincial Normal School were girls in their late teens. There were some young men also in the classes, but these were so few that, with a view to keeping the papers anonymous, they were not asked to indicate in any way either their age or sex. About three-quarters of the Normal School students come from small towns and country districts.

It is not considered necessary to give a detailed analysis of the percentage of affirmative answers in each age group, or to do more than to state the percentage of such answers for each statement, unless some special feature calls for comment. The truth or error of each statement will be indicated briefly, as far as that may be possible. It is intended to deal with most of these topics and some others at greater length in Part Two of this paper.

1. The Indians came to Canada from eastern Asia. True. 70% affirmative. There is a steady increase in the realization of the truth of this statement. The percentage of students in agreement rises in the various age groups from 50% to 85%.

2. Indians were treacherous in war. Hardly true. 95% affirmative. We must remember that treacherous refers to breaking faith or violating a trust, and there is very little evidence that the Indians habitually did this, though their tactics in warfare did differ widely from ours.

3. They could read the beads in a wampum belt, just as we read a book. Untrue. 64% affirmative. A good many of the students showed their indecision by erasing one mark and substituting another and the impression was given that they did not know very much about it. The youngest children and the

Normal School students were both agreed to the extent of 73% affirmative.

4. Indians were reserved and used to conceal their feelings. True 61% affirmative. Here again there was no very definite opinion, though the habitual taciturnity of the Indians is, I feel sure, traditional. There was a slight indication that the older boys were more inclined to agree than were the younger ones.

5. Indians usually cooked their food. True. 58% affirmative. Apparently no very definite opinion, but there is a very general belief that the Eskimo eats his food raw from preference; this idea is apparently not extended to the Indian.

6. An Indian would wear a feather for every man he had killed. Untrue. 31% affirmative. Very generally believed, in spite of the denial here. Possibly the wording of the statement suggests that it is absurd.

7. They believed that they went to a 'happy hunting ground' after death. Untrue. 98% affirmative. The expression was first used, it appears, by Washington Irving in his Astoria in 1836 (2). It is an almost universally accepted fallacy, but the ideas involved do not harmonize with Indians eschatological theories.

8. Indians usually had close-set eyes. Largely untrue. 45%

affirmative. Apparently there is no very definite opinion. The statement was felt to be unsatisfactory when the questionnaire was being compiled, but some indications of ideas of the physical appearance of the Indian were sought. Some of the students did not understand the expression 'close-set'

9. They used to bury a hatchet when making peace. Untrue. 69% affirmative. An almost unanimous answer was expected to this very widely accepted statement. It was merely a rhetorical expression and not an actual ceremony.

10. They could write in picture language on birch bark. Untrue.. 95% affirmative. Writing in any form was unknown north of Mexico. The crude ideographs used in the vicinity of the Great Lakes can not be dignified by the term 'writing', but it is a very widely accepted belief.

11. They used to wander about the country going just anywhere. Untrue. 36%. The Indians are frequently spoken of a being nomadic, but this is not true, for each tribe or sub-division had its own well-recognized boundaries. It would appear now that the idea of the Indian's being a nomad is no longer a part of the popular concept.

12. Indians had high cheek bones. True. 96% affirmative. This may be considered one of the characteristics of the 'typical' Indian and, while there are exceptions, the statement is close enough to the facts to be considered 'true'.

13. They believed in a Great Spirit above all others. Probably true in a limited sense. 92% affirmative. The topic is discussed at some length in Regina Flannery's Coastal Algonquian Culture. (3)

14. Indian warriors used to obey their chiefs implicitly. Untrue. 79% affirmative. It is a widely held fallacy, apparently based on a false assumption of a parallelism between an idealization in our culture and the Indian culture. The word 'implicitly' had to be explained to some students.

15. Indian tribes were always having battles among themselves. Untrue. 85% affirmative. Inter-tribal warfare was admittedly frequent, but it was by no means continuous. School history books with their emphasis on critical events, such as wars, are probably the cause of this misapprehension.

16. Indian medicine men knew how to cure many diseases. Untrue. 47% affirmative. Apparently there is no very definite opinion, though 'Indian remedies' and 'Indian doctors' still are in repute among certain social classes. Strangely enough there is some indication that the older students were more inclined to agree than were the younger ones.

17. Indians had red skins. Untrue. 56% affirmative. It is surprising that the answers were not more definitely in the affirmative. Some students added the word 'copper' in the

margin of their sheets, but modern physical anthropologists appear to prefer the word 'brown' as a descriptive term.

18. There are very many words in the Indian languages. True. 24%. Though this is a true statement, only 10% of the older students would agree. The idea that Indian languages suffered from a paucity of words is still very common.

19. Indians had secret ways of sending messages over long distances. Untrue. 71% affirmative. Stories of the 'moccassin telegraph' are very common in country districts and in juvenile fiction. I encountered it as recently as the autumn of 1939 in the northern prairies when the present war began.

20. They used a special Pipe of Peace at their council meetings. Untrue. 95% affirmative. This, if true at all, is so only in a very restricted sense. The exact function of the calumet (which was not a pipe, but a pipe-stem) is still not very clear, but the idea that a definite Peace-pipe formed part of the equipment of every tribe is definitely wrong.

21. Few Indian hunters were skilful with the bow. True. 7% affirmative. Very few could bring themselves to agree with this iconoclastic statement; only 3% of the students at the Normal School! Indian skill in archery is a fallacy which may never die.

22. They used to have 'kings' and 'princesses' just as we do. Untrue. 17% affirmative. A much more definitely affirmative answer was expected here, as this attribution of royal degree has been common since the time of Columbus. Apparently the 'Indian chief' has deposed the 'Indian king' in the popular concept.

23. Most Indians had a prominent nose. Untrue. 84% affirmative. Many artists consider a large hooked nose one of the most important of the Indians' distinguishing marks. (See Figs. 6 and 8). Actually such noses were restricted almost entirely to some of the prairie tribes. The word 'prominent' was not understood by all students.

24. The men used to make the women do all the hard work. Untrue. 89% affirmative. A fallacy very widely held, but a fallacy nevertheless. It will be discussed in greater detail later.

25. The Indians used to go almost naked in hot weather. True. 97% affirmative. Six of the age groups voted 100%. If the limiting phrase 'in hot weather' had been omitted the answer would still, in all probability, have been in the affirmative and would then have been untrue.

26. Most Indian-white half-breeds were degenerate people. Untrue. 56% affirmative. This most fallacious belief ap-

pears to be more common in districts in which there are a fair number of half-breeds than it is in the neighbourhood of larger cities, or in the East.

27. The Indians were very fond of gambling. True. 60% affirmative. No very strong conviction here. Presumably the students had not seen or heard the matter discussed.

28. Totem-poles were used by Indians all over Canada. Untrue. 45% affirmative. The lower age groups seem to be less accurately informed on this point than the older boys. The Normal School students voted only 30% in the affirmative. Not understood by all.

29. When first discovered, the Indians were cannibals. Untue. 14%.affirmative. This fallacy tends to become less and less conspicuous as time goes on, but it is by no means extinct. It must be remembered that we are confining the questionnaire to eastern Canada, and therefore the Caribs are not included. The word 'cannibals' was unfamiliar to some.

30. The Indians are increasing in numbers. True. 12% affirmative. It seems that comparatively few people are aware of the steady increase in the numbers of the Indians in North America, especially since about 1900.

31. They used to call the white man by a name meaning 'pale-

face. Untrue. 96% affirmative. Pale-face, according to the Oxfor English Dictionary, was first used in 1822. The Indians had many names for the white strangers, but comparatively few of them had reference to skin colour.

32. Indians didn't bother to keep themselves clean. True. 55% affirmative. Cleanliness, in our sense of the word, was of no great importance in the Indian scheme of things, and many writers refer to these people as 'dirty'. Among the students, opinion seemed to be indefinite in all age groups.

33. A tomahawk was a little iron hatchet. Untrue. 50% affirmative. The word tomahawk was first used, in English, by Captain John Smith in his Map of Virginia in 1612 and was translated as 'axe'. Steel and iron were introduced by the Europeans, and hatchets of this type soon replaced the original clubs, which is what tomahawks actually were. The idea that they were iron hatchets, is still very common in spite of the lack of definite opinion shown here.

34. Nobody knows how the Indians made their arrowheads. Untrue. 13% affirmative. It has often been said that the art of chipping or flaking stone arrowheads is one of the 'lost arts'. Apparently this is no longer generally believed.

35. Some of the Indians had blue eyes. Untrue. 64% affirmative. The Indian eye varies from hazel to dark brown, but

is never blue. Opinion not very definite.

36 The Indians taught the white man to make and use canoes. True. 90% affirmative. Apparently this fact is well-known.

37. Indians are less intelligent than white men. Untrue. 47% affirmative. No very definite opinion, though the majority disagrees.

38. The white men taught the Indians to smoke. Untrue. 15% affirmative. In spite of the low percentage of incorrect answers, many adults are unaware of the Indian origin of tobacco.

39. In the old days, they wore armour made of wood. True. 14% affirmative. This fact is seldom mentioned in the literature, probably because armour was abandoned almost immediately after the introduction of firearms against which it was almost completely useless.

40. All the Indians used to live in wigwams. Untrue. 45% affirmative. Many other types of dwellings were used. Opinion on this point is apparently not very clear-cut.

41. They all spoke much the same language. Untrue. 52% affirmative. Though the answers do not show any very definite opinion, the diversity of Indians languages is not generally recognized.

42. The Indians had no horses when the first white men landed. True. 49% affirmative. The form of the statement may have seemed somewhat confusing; in any event, the answers show no well established conviction.

43. Most Indian chiefs wore big feather head-dresses. Untrue. 93% affirmative. One of the most wide-spread of fallacies. It is discussed at greater length later.

44. The Indians used to worship wooden idols. Untrue. 66% affirmative. A common fallacy, probably due to misinformed teachers, who believe that all pagan people worship idols. Totem-poles are frequently pointed out as being 'Indian gods', which they are not.

45. They often tortured their prisoners. True. 99% affirmative. No doubts expressed here! Only a small proportion of prisoners were tortured for all that.

46. The snowshoe was a French-Canadian invention, adopted by the Indians. Untrue. 27% affirmative. There is a strange increase in the proportion of incorrect answers, paralleling the increase in age. The youngest boys were only 19% affirmative, that is, wrong; the boys of 20 and over were 45% in the affirmative; the Normal School, 30% affirmative. I am at a loss to account for this.

47. The Indians used to mummify their dead. Untrue. 16% affirmative. Some students did not understand the word 'mummify', but the great majority answered correctly nonetheless.

48. Some of the Indian tribes lived by farming. True. 80% affirmative. The agricultural habits of the Iroquois and some of their neighbours are apparently well known to students in this district.

49. Indian medicine men had strange supernatural powers. Untrue. 16% affirmative. The belief in the psychic powers of the Indian conjurors, once widely and firmly held, has apparently been abandoned by a new and more sophisticated generation.

50. Birch-bark canoes took many weeks to make. Untrue. 47% affirmative. The idea that the Indians spent many tedious weeks or months in the construction of their tools and other equipment is widespread. In this case again the proportion of students giving erroneous answers increases with their age in a way difficult to explain. Only 42% of the youngest boys agreed, and 74% of the oldest.

The questionnaire leaves many things to be desired.

Had it been submitted to the students later in the course of my investigation, some questions would have been omitted and others would have been inserted, probably with advantage. The actual wording was also a difficulty as has already been mentioned, and the occurrence of several words which were unfamiliar to some of the students was an unexpected stumbling-block. On the other hand, it has the distinction of being, as far as I am aware, the first such attempt to ascertain precisely what is the popular concept of the Indian today; there is much information to be gained from a careful study of the answers and it is hoped that the results may be used to advantage in planning future lessons.

It may be assumed that answers grouped between 40% and 60% affirmative are too near the median to have much significance; in fact, one might well set the boundaries at 33% and 66%, excluding from consideration the indefinite middle third. Retaining, then, only the remaining answers, we are able to construct the following synthetic picture of an 'Indian', after arranging the material in more or less logical order:

The Indians now living in eastern Canada came originally from eastern Asia; they had high cheek bones; a prominent nose; they went almost naked in hot weather; they were treacherous in war; they were always having battles among themselves; they used to obey their chiefs implicitly;

most of the chiefs wore big feather head-dresses; they used a special Pipe of Peace at their council meetings; they used to bury a hatchet when making peace; they often tortured their prisoners; they believed in a Great Spirit above all others; they believed they went to a happy hunting ground after death; they used to worship wooden idols; they were skilful with the bow; some of the tribes lived by farming; they used to make the women do all the hard work; they taught the white men to make and use canoes; they used to call the white man by a name meaning pale-face; there were not many words in Indian languages; they could write in 'picture language' on birch-bark; they had secret ways of sending messages over long distances; they are decreasing in numbers.

On the other hand: an Indian did not wear a feather for every man he had killed; they did not have 'kings' and 'princesses' as we do; they were not cannibals; it is not true that nobody knows how they made their arrowheads; nor that the whites taught them to smoke; nor that they used armour made of wood; nor that they adopted the snowshoe from the French; nor that they mummified their dead; nor that their medicine men had strange supernatural powers.

This picture of the 'typical Indian', built up from the questionnaire, consists of thirty-two statements; of these, fourteen are true, and eighteen are false; that is, about 44% correct.

The next step in our inquiry is to discover where the students acquired this mixture of fact and fallacy which makes up their concept of the Indian. When the students were filling in the questionnaire sheets, they were asked to indicate: (a) their chief source or sources of information, which was done by all but three of the Normal School students, and by about 40% of the students at St. Patrick's College, or 143 out of 355; (b) their age, (except in the case of the Normal School students), and this most of them did.

Most students said that school and school books were their chief source of information, and 'other books' came second. The following table shows the number and percentage of pupils in each of the two schools who attributed their information to one or more of eleven sources. School lessons and school books have been grouped as one source.

	Normal School 125 students answered	St.Patrick's 143 students answered
School books	66 (51%)	88 (61.5%)
Other books	38 (29%)	76 (53%)
Personal knowledge	8 (6%)	27 (19%)
Moving pictures	0	22 (15%)
National Museum	22 (16%)	19 (13%)
Verbal description	2 (1.5%)	13 (9%)
Magazines	2 (1.5%)	4 (2.8%)
Pictures	1 (0.7%)	4 (2.8%)
Lectures	2 (1.5%)	2 (1.4%)
Radio	0	2 (1.4%)
Sunday School	1 (0.7%)	0

The evidence that literature, whether in the form of school books or of other books or of magazines, is the most important influence seems to be conclusive, and this was the first point of the thesis.

It might be argued that including school lessons with the school books gives that classification too great a weight, but it should be borne in mind that the teacher who gave the lessons usually obtained the material from some form of literature, that is, from books, in the first place.

The only one of the various sources of information about the Indian which we have examined in any detail so far in this paper is that referred to in the above table under the very general term 'Other Books',, by which is meant literature in general, excluding school texts. The various minor sources which have not yet been dealt with will repay a closer study, as will also several others which did not appear on the questionnaire sheets marked by the students.

School text books. These include 'readers', 'geographies', 'histories', and a number of books written specially for children and devoted to the Indian, rarely in whole and more usually in part only, sometimes called 'supplementary reading'. These strive, we may assume, to be accurate and are reasonably so in the main. Their principal defects are two-fold: They are a generation or so behind anthropological science; The necessity for condensation has led to generalizations which grow in inaccuracy as they grow in breadth.

One early school book which I have examined is by J. George Hodgins entitled The Geography and History of British America and the Other Colonies of the Empire; to Which is Added a Sketch of the Various Indian Tribes of Canada, etc. It was published by MacLear & Co in Toronto, 1857. Chapter Seven in this book is devoted to The Indians of Canada and manages to compress a surprising amount of information into a few pages. Much of it is quite wrong; a good deal of the rest definitely misleading. We are told, for instance, that "the Sachem, or head, was frequently an hereditary monarch"; "their treaties were generally hieroglyphical"; and "for protection the colonists had to erect timber palisades about their dwellings, around which the Indian would stealthily watch for his victim".

There is a little thumb-nail sketch to illustrate this last detail, about an inch square. It shows a very substantial colonial house, surrounded by a very regular and perfectly circular palisade; a prowling Indian is making his rounds, and his listless and unconvincing crouch would suggest to the unromantic that he was thoroughly tired of the whole business.

The idea that the men spend their time in war, and the pleasures of hunting and fishing, while the women do all the work is not omitted, nor are 'the happy hunting grounds beyond the setting sun'. Interestingly enough, the fact that the term 'Red Indian' is strictly applicable to the Beothuc is mentioned in Chapter Eighteen - The History of Newfoundland, though it is ignored in most school books.

A group of 'readers' for pupils of various ages, dating from 1882 to 1908, all intended for Canadian schools, was examined with considerable.interest. These were found in the library of the Provincial Normal School in Ottawa, and it is gratifying to note that these books have been retained and not discarded as has happened in so many other cases. The amount of material in them dealing with the Indians was comparatively small. A number of selections reappeared year after year, such as the story of the Indian who finds that a deer has been stolen from his cabin and, by means of skilful woodcraft and deducation,argues that it was stolen by a white man who was small, old, lame, with a short gun and a small bob-tailed dog.

There were few errors in the Indian material, largely because there was so little of it, but the general impression was weak and unconvincing. It was with a feeling that things would be much improved that I turned to the modern books in the same library which are prepared for children who are definitely seeking information about Indians, -- the "supplementary reading". I was greatly disappointed.

In the older books,generalization had been the danger.

In the newer ones, another danger arose in the opposite direction. - specialization and expansion. In these books, which are concerned only with Indians, it has been necessary to add many more details, both to make the material more vivid and interesting, and to supply the bulk needed to make a book, and with each detail goes the inevitable risk that it is inaccurate.

Among those read in detail were the following: Our Little Indian Cousin by Mary Hazelton Wade; Eight Little Indians by Josephine Lovell; All About Indians by D.J. Dickie; and Red Feather by Grace Hobb, this last an English book. They were surprisingly readable, and in most cases, well illustrated, often in colour; but -- both by text and by picture was the reader sadly misled. Here are a few of the more evident fallacies:

Our Little Indian Cousin.

An iron pot hanging over a fire in a wigwam
Division of labour fallacy
"A real tomahawk with its sharp edge sticking in that corner"
The baby is strapped on the baby board "to teach it endurance"
Indians read picture writing at a glance
Sewing canes with thread of birch bark
Indians often poison arrowheads
Wampum fallacies
The 'happy hunting grounds'

Eight Little Indians.

Iroquois section:
Willow bark for sewing canoe
Inheritance of chieftainship implied
Numerous errors in illustrations
Purple wampum more valuable because harder to cut

Sioux section:
Tipi poles 'woven together at the top'.
Description of pemmican misleading
Horses and eagle-feather-war-bonnets taken for granted
War-bonnet reserved for use in war

Northwest Coast section:
Tribe said to be Killamook (i.e. Tillamook) but these were in north west of Oregon only, well south of the totem-pole area; totem-poles are shown
Whale hunting ascribed to the these people and the whole of the northwest coast culture hundreds of miles away
Use of masks quite mis-leading

Eskimo section:
"He lived near the North Pole, where it is very cold most of the time".

Red Feather.

Purple, white and green beads 'long before the coming of the white man'
Tipi and wigwam confused
'Feathers of many colours stuck in his hair
Prairie and eastern woodland cultures confused
A tomahawk 'which is a kind of hatchet'
'Hunted the buffalo and the bison'
Painted pottery,(which did not exist in the northern regions).

All About Indians.

The chief is distinguished by a painted tipi
Little Indian girls does not talk and laugh as white girls do
Prairie Indians fishing
Indians saying grace before eating
Signalling with a mirror
Account of maple sugar inaacurate
Pipe of Peace
Bury the Hatchet
A lion is seen in the Huron district!
Invention of pottery, pure fiction
Totems (west coast) attributed to tribes instead of to families
Totem-poles not confined to the west coast as they should be
Happy Hunting Grounds

That such things should be taught in the schools as authentic accounts of the Indians is almost incredible. The situation is not likely to be remedied until some competent anthropologist points out to the situation both to the publishers of the books in question and to the educational authorities who permit, nay encourage, their use. One may smile and say that it matters little whether the Indians of Ontario actually painted their pottery or not. Perhaps such a point is indeed trivial and unimportant, but that children should be taught facts which are known to be untrue is not unimportant or trivial; indeed they are not facts at all.

Personal knowledge.

Next in order of apparent importance among the various influences mentioned by the students who answered the questionnaire was 'personal knowledge'. It was a little surprising at first to find that so many students had met and conversed with Indians, but it soon became apparent that these contacts were restricted to an occasional brief visit to a reservation or to a short time spent chatting with an Indian guide at a summer camp for boys.

It is obvious that personal contact with the Indians has, today, very little influence on the popular concept, for the reason that only a few people have any real contact with the Indians, and also because very few of the Indians themselves know even as much about their original conditions as does the well-informed white enquirer. Indians in eastern Canada have been affected by contact with European culture nearly four hundred years in some districts, three hundred in others, and they have lost nearly all knowledge of their aboriginal life, so the Indians know a good deal less about 'Indians' than does an educated white man, paradoxical as it may seem.

Verbal descriptions, also listed in the questionnaire answers, included accounts of Indians given the student by somebody with personal knowledge of them and are in very much the same category as the preceding group, for there is nobody living today who knew the Indian as he was before he was affected by white civilization. The accounts of 'Injuns' given by old-timers can seldom be relied upon as anthropologically sound; in fact, it is amazing how people who have lived for years in the immediate neighbourhood of Indian reservations, where they had every opportunity to get to know the Indians personally and intimately, opportunities which would have been counted as Heaven-sent by any anthropologist, will admit blandly that they 'don't know much about them' or, still worse, trot out the familiar troop of good old fallacies.

The National Museum.

Students living in Ottawa are fortunate in having access to the National Museum of Canada which has, among other things, the best collection of Canadian anthropological material in existence anywhere. Naturally a certain proportion of the students in both schools had visited the Museum on occasion and had seen the exhibits of Indian and Eskimo specimens.

Nineteen of the students at St. Patrick's College said that they derived some of their information from the Museum and there were twenty-two students from the Normal School who gave the same source. This is particularly interesting because all the Normal School students had visited the Museum officially in classes, and been taken to the Anthropological Halls where the more important exhibits had been explained to them.

The questionnaire sheets of the twenty-two students from the Normal School who had mentioned the Museum were checked for the correctness of their answers, a step which had not been taken in the other cases as the intention was to discover, not how accurate the popular concept is, but what it is. It was found that they ranged from 36% to 66% correct, with an average of 49%. These sheets were then compared with the first twenty-two sheets encountered in the Normal School bundle which gave no other source of information than Elementary School. These students, who had not visited the Museum as far as they remembered, were found to range from 36% to 58% correct with an average of 46.8%, a difference of only 2.2% which is not significant.

Evidently a single 'official' visit to the Museum has no profound effect. It is realized that preconceived ideas are very difficult to get rid of, and the pupils probably noticed only what was familiar to them in the exhibition cases, while the unfamiliar, and, therefore, comparatively meaningless, was passed over. This is a common experience but it is a matter for the museum man to worry over rather than for discussion in this paper.

Magazines and Pictures.

It is not entirely clear whether students meant magazines to be considered as a different source of information from other forms of literature or not. They have been listed separately, just as they appeared in the notes supplied by the students. In any case, the influence attributed to this source is small. The same quandary confronts us in the case of 'pictures'. Are we to understand illustrations and paintings, or are moving pictures intended? There was no way of telling, so the same procedure was followed as in case of 'magazines'.

Lectures, Radio and Sunday School.

The very poor showing made by the radio seems to support the arguments of those who contend that this powerful means of education is not being used to the best advantage. However, its comparatively low rating may be partly due to the fact that many students, who would have admitted its influence if questioned, simply forgot to mention it. It must be admitted, too, that the Indian is not a very popular topic on the air. One of the few occasions in recent years on which he appeared was in the winter of 1939-1940 when a series of interesting readings was delivered by radio, each of the separate speakers being an Indian and each of a different tribe, ranging from natives of the Maritimes to the Pacific Coast (4).

Lectures on various aspects of anthropology have been delivered frequently in Ottawa, but it is probable that very few of these students happened to attend any of them. As for the solitary Normal School student who assures us that she learned about Indians in Sunday School, one is almost led to suspect a subtle sense of humour, rather than serious intention; unless, indeed, she is referring to lessons on the work of the early missionaries.

Moving pictures.

We have now discussed all the various sources of information listed in the questionnaire replies with the exception of the moving picture, and this topic has been reserved till the end on account of the importance I am inclined to give it.

There is not much doubt that moving pictures have a profound influence in the formation of popular concepts of all sorts. Propagandists are well aware of their value. I remember reading some years ago a statement by a prominent Indian Civil Servant to the effect that the cinema had done far more to undermine white prestige in India and many other parts of the world than any other single factor. Moving pictures, most of them 'Made in Hollywood', showing white men and, more especially, white women in countless undignified, immoral, illegal, and ridiculous situations and occupations, were being, and still are being shown daily to hundreds of thousands, if not to millions, of coloured people all over the world. "So this is what white people really are like!" they say, and any previously inculcated belief in the white man's superiority, trustworthiness, honesty, and invincibility is rapidly dissipated.

No less marked is the effect in our own country. Young people and people of average mentality see Indians in many of the pictures they are shown. The Indians are dressed in a certain way, they behave according to set patterns, they talk a curious dialect if they are not important characters and burst into bewilderingly good English if they are important or when particularly tense action is presented, they emitycurious war-whoops when attacking their unsuspecting victims and, in general, are just like the Indians the spectator is already familiar with and expected to see.

There have been a number of 'feature' pictures shown in the past few years in which Indians were, if not the sole characters, at least the most important ones. Among these are "The Silent Enemy", "Juarez", "Geronimo","Drums Along the Mohawk", "Northwest Passage", and "Hudson's Bay". The Indians from any one of these films could have been transferred bodily to any other and the audience, in all probability, would not have noticed that any change had been made. This does not imply that every director was careless and made no effort to secure authenticity. At least one of them did, the director of "Northwest Passage", which was so remarkably well done in comparison that one suspects a competent anthropologist must have been on the staff, or was it made under the direct supervision of the author, Kenneth Roberts, Himself?

It happens that the natives in this particular film are of the "Fenimore Cooper" kind on whom the 'typical Indian' of the popular concept is, in large part, based. They were dressed more or less as were the Iroquois and Algonquins of that period, and all was well; they behaved as the histories of that period tell us they had behaved, and all was well; but when that costume and that behaviour, which belongs in the district south-east of the Great Lakes, are transferred to the north of Lake Superior as they were in "The Silent Enemy"; or to Mexico, as they were in "Juarez"; or to the southern part of the great plains as in "Geronimo", it becomes absurd. It is much as if one dressed actors as Dutchmen of the conventional sabot-and-pipe school and made them play in turn the roles of Frenchmen, Russians, Italians, and Irishmen with no change of costume or character; literally just as impossible and just as irrational.

The "Movie Indian" is based on the Indian of the popular concept, because the director of the picture wants his Indians to be recognized immediately and beyond all cavil as Indians. In turn, the "Movie Indian" influences, and indeed today forms, the popular concept; thus is established a vicious circle which will prove hard indeed to break.

It is interesting to note that the large feather headdress, which is such a conspicuous part of the traditional 'Indian costume', seldom appears in the cinema. There are, I believe, two good reasons for this: one is that they are expensive to make and difficult to keep in good repair, which is perhaps a minor consideration in these days of million dollar pictures; the second is, because they are awkward to wear, or rather to keep in place, during vigorous action. They are all right for a solemn and dignified council meeting, but out of the question for fast action, and action is what people expect in 'action pictures'.

There is another field in the moving picture world to which we have not yet turned our attention, that which may be termed the 'Travelogue', -- a picture which depicts the Indians as they are today and which, it would appear from the advertising accompanying such pictures, tells the truth about them. Such pictures have much in their favour and one might wish to see more of them. They have one serious drawback in that the difference between their present condition and their past is seldom pointed out. The audience, led to believe that the Indians are shown 'as they really are' easily makes a mental transition and thinks they are being shown 'as they really were', which is by no means the case. The producers of such pictures are careful not to bore their audiences with technical details about culture contacts or to shatter their illusions.

Painting and Sculpture.

Turning now to sources of information which were not stressed or not even mentioned by the students who answered the questionnaire, we may begin with the fine arts.

There are some artists who are careful to make their work as meticuouely accurate as possible. There are others, of a more subjective turn of mind perhaps, who consider the first group with some disdain, and refer to them as realists or objectivists. The realists, of course, strive to portray the Indian as he really was, or is. Such an artist is Adam Sherriff-Scott of Montreal, who recently completed a series of six portraits of typical Canadian Indians for the Royal Bank of Canada who used them to illustrate a calendar. He consulted with the anthropologists of the National Museum of Canada in preparing his sketches and attained a high degree of scientific accuracy as a result, with no lessening of the artistic quality of his work. Still more recently he consulted the same authorities in the preparation of a series of studies of Eskimo life, and with the same result.

The other group of artists, the subjectivists, seem to fear that a thing can not be beautiful if it is true. They would rather depict an Indian as they see him in their imagination than as he actually is. I am reminded in this connection of a large painting which has often caught my eye while at work in the Students' Room at the Public Archives in Ottawa. It shows Indians welcoming Champlain in the St. Lawrence in 1608. The Indians, and there are dozens of them, are all seated, or standing, in canoes, paddling round Champlain's ship in a dazed and stupified regatta. They are all stripped to the waist; they all wear large feather head-dresses of eagle-plumes; and these must be very special eagle plumes for, instead of being half white and half black as are the tail feathers of the juvenile Golden Eagle which the prairie tribes used, they are half white and half *red*, presumably being obtained from a species of eagle now very rare if not extinct! That in itself might not be so bad really, if it were not for the fact that that particular type of head-dress was developed in the western prairies some fifteen hundred miles away (the distance roughly from New York to Winnipeg) and about a hundred and fifty years *later* than Champlain's day.

One other group of artists is frankly careless. Their work may be typified by a piece of sculpture in the National

Gallery in Ottawa. It is labelled 'Jeunes Indiens Chassent'. Two little Indian boys are poised watching the flight of an arrow one of them has just loosed and, if it was anything like those he retains in his hand, its flight would be worth more than a casual glance, for they are two of the most warped and crooked twigs ever dignified by the name of arrow. Such a missile, as every archer knows, flies with a most unpredictably erratic course, and successful hunting with one could only be done in the land of dreams. The bow is not much better, being a slender branch, thick at one end and thin at the other, still in the bark and without any work having been done on it at all except to string it. Such a bow would add considerably to the erratic impulses latent in even the best of arrows. What the combination of such a bow and such arrows would result in is better left to the imagination than predicted. The artist, only too obviously, knew nothing of his subject and didn't bother to find out.

The largest group of artists to be considered is made up of professionals, such as illustrators and cartoonists. They are often offenders of a different type. With them, the word 'Indian' represents a conventional idea, it is a sort of mental counter or rubber stamp, to be expressed by means of a conventional symbolism. These artists have done much to form the popular concept of the Indian, as far as the visual part of the idea is concerned.

The symbols they usually attach to the Indian are; a large beaked nose; braids of black hair; feathers; leggings and bared above the waist, or with a blanket over the shoulders (the latter being less common than it was fifty years ago); drum, or tomahawk, or scalping knife, or bow and arrows in his hands; tipi in the background, if any thing; all of these may be included or omitted according to the necessities of the case, and one can find this Indian in one out of every five illustrated magazines of the popular type picked off the news-stands at random. (5)

Dr. Clark Wissler, curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and one of the outstanding modern authorities on the North American Indian, has often commented on the conventional Indian. He sums the situation up as follows:

"The Dakota is the ideal of the artist. Tall, slender, with small hands and feet but sinewy body, strong features, high cheekbones and a beaked nose -- the Indian of the nickle -- all these characteristics are to be seen in the Dakota or some of their hybrids. We expect all Indians to wear the Dakota costume, so that no matter what the tribe, all modern Indians appear in it. It is the conventional formal dress of the contemporary Indian, but it was devised by members of the Siouan family and popularized by the Dakota. When a new President is inaugurated in Washington, a few

Indians ride in the procession wearing the traditional costume of the Dakota. The painter or illustrator knows that if he presents a conventionalized Indian in the Dakota style of dress, man or woman, it will spell Indian. It is a kind of picture writing. This is why we see paintings of the Pilgrims landing at the famous rock, greeted by Indians dressed like Dakota, or again Indians receiving Henry Hudson at Manhattan in the same kind of clothes, or Pocahontas in the wedding dress of a Dakota bride. All absurdities, except that we understand this to be art's way of telling us that Indians are being depicted. Buffalo Bill was a great showman, the first to capitalize the popularity of the Indian. He chose his Indians from the Dakota and, both in America and Europe, persistently spread their fame, with drooping eagle-feather headdresses and sharp features, so that young and old rarely imagine there are any other kind of Indians" (6).

In comic art, no less than in more serious work, the conventionalized Indian is to be found; he is just the same figure, whether in the comic strips, the cartoons, or any other form of light humorous work.

There are two minor forms of sculpture worth a few moments' attention, one of them old, and one more modern. The older form is the cigar-store Indian, now becoming rare and eagerly sought after by collectors. The history of these figures begins not, as we might well have supposed, in America, but in England. About 1600 shops which sold tobacco used small wooden figures of Indians as counter signs; in the course of time these developed into larger figures and were moved outside the shops, taking their place with other signs which indicated the place of business of the barber, the taverner, the bootmaker and others. Early in the 18th century these signs were found occasionally in the colonies, in those up-to-date shops which imitated the London fashion, and later they became quite common. One specimen in Washington was of so menacing an aspect, with his upraised tomahawk, that peace-loving citizens protested. The tobacconist then removed the tomahawk, but even so the figure disturbed the peace and eventually had to be sacrificed, a gallant testimonial to the skill of his maker. (7)

The cigar-store Indian is not familiar to the children of today, but most people of the older generation will remember having seen them, wearing a smaller feather head-dress than is conventional today and often with his tomahawk thrust into his belt, and offering a bundle of cigars to the unheeding passers-by. Occasionally he is seen in modern illustrations, but has little influence on the popular concept in this century.

The second minor form of sculpture referred to is worthy of exploration in that it affords a concrete representation of the popular concept of the Indian in a form that can be held in the palm of one hand -- the Indian warrior in a child's set of toy soldiers.

There are three different Indians of this kind in my collection, one made in England, one in Canada, and a third who prefers not to mention his country of origin. My English 'Indian' stands beside me as I write, with his feet firmly braced on a rectangular patch of greenmetal which represents grass. He has black foot gear of some kind, but the feet and the leggings and the grass merge so much that it is hard to make out just what he is wearing. His leggings are yellow, fringed with black down the outside and over them he wears a red breech-clout which looks not unlike a man's bathing suit of the most modern cut. From the waist up he wears no clothes, but flaunts a very ornate golden necklace which hangs half-way down his chest, and a shorter one round his neck. His hair is fairly long, is black and unbraided, but is restrained by a golden band round his forehead. On the top of his head he wears two stiffly upright bright green feathers, the front feather being still further decorated with a bright brown edge. His skin is of the same glowing brown, and his very red mouth is so large that one wonders if perhaps his tongue is not thrust out in derision of his future enemies. He carries a rifle, but no other arms. His nose is definitely large, I should add, the only feature, in fact, which is clearly distinguishable, except for that derisive tongue.

The other two figures are mounted, and are somewhat alike. One of them is armed with a bow and arrow, but has no quiver; the other carries a tomahawk only. Both are fully clothed, with dark green leggings and lighter green upper garments. Both wear long feather head-dresses, one consisting of red and white feathers, the other of red and green feathers. The 'Canadian' Indian, the one with the bow and arrow, seems to be riding on a saddle-blanket rather than on a saddle, and a girth is clearly shown; the anonymous warrior prefers to ride bareback, and affects a much simpler kind of head-stall for his mount than does the other.

All three are delightful little figures, modelled with a care and skill which is altogether admirable. The foot warrior is evidently intended to be an Iroquois or an Algonquian of the eastern woodlands, and the mounted figures are just as obviously prairie Indians. The 'Canadian' Indian, it should be added, has a large hooked nose, and his mouth is wide open, presumably for the better emission of a terrifying war-whoop. Any small boy would revel in them, and they are immediately and unmistakeably identifiable as Indians, which is precisely what the sculptor and the manufacturer intended. They are just as Indian in the mind of their legitimate chief -- the small boy -- as is the Indian play-suit he is so proud of, with the fringed yellow leggings and the befeathered head-dress.

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PART TWO

AN ANALYSIS OF SOME OF THE COMMON FALLACIES

> "No levell'd malice
> Infects one comma in the course I hold."
> *Timon of Athens* I,i,48

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PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

> "These sources of misinformation comprise the misinterpretations and errors embodied in four centuries of literature, among which are the imperfect observations and erroneous deductions of a host of amateur explorers and would-be historians. Especially to be deprecated is the utilization of this class of observations by enthusiastic supporters of vague theories and preconceived views, and the demand for sensational matter by the public press, a large contingent of which is ready to accept for public consumption whatever is novel or sensational, without serious regard for its verity." (1)

In the first part of this paper an effort was made to show that the popular concept of the North American Indian as held today is, indeed, a mixture of fact and fallacy. It is proposed now to examine some of the fallacies in detail, and to discover something of their origin and subsequent development; to show that many of them have persisted for centuries, dating even from the writings of Columbus, while others have become extinct, and still other fallacies are recent inventions.

The number of fallacies recorded is legion; here is a further comment on the subject by Dr. W.H.Holmes, late of the Bureau.of American Ethnology, the official anthropological body of the United States, which will give some idea of the wide range of subjects concerning which erroneous notions are, or have been, entertained:

"The diversity of invented and exaggerated statements which find currency is, indeed, appalling. The world hears constantly of the discovery of the skeletons of giants and pygmies; of caverns filled with mummified bodies and rich plunder; of ruined cities abounding in marvellous works of art; of hardened copper; of walls and buildings of astonishing magnitude; of sunken continents; of ancient races associated with extinct species of animals; of inscribed tablets of doubtful origin and extraordinary import; of low-browed crania attributed to prehistoric races but which are mere local variations or pathological freaks; of fossil bones of animals parading as bones of man; of reputed petrified human bodies which, on inspection, turn out to be of modern cement; of faked pottery, metal work and the like, so well wrought and so insidiously brought to the attention of scholars as to have become in certain instances the types of antiquity; of learned readings of undecipherable inscriptions; and of the reamains of man and his culture from formations of all ages, dating from the present back to the Carboniferous age. The output is so great and the public mind so receptive to error that the tide of misinformation keeps steadily on, hardly reduced in bulk by the never-ceasing efforts of science: ---- and our best authorities in many cases are subject to the danger of combining the original errors into new fictions so compounded and difficult of analysis as to elude the vigilance even of the critical scientific world." (2)

As it is precisely to the literature of the last four and a half centuries (1493 to date), or to a small part of it, that we have gone for our material, it is obvious that the risk of still further confounding the reigning confusion must never be far from our minds. In has been impossible to note every occurrence of every fallacy in each of the two hundred and more books which have been examined; it has been my endeavour, rather, to select compact and quotable instances with a view to offering them as tangible evidence that the fallacy referred to was actually in existence in English or American literature at that time. In the pursuit of this programme approximately eighteen hundred extracts have been made from the literature, both of factual and fictional works, and it is from these extracts that material for discussion and illustration is drawn.

Furthermore, it is obviously necessary to demonstrate conclusively that the statements labelled as fallacies are, in very truth, fallacies (3); and it is anticipated that this task may, in some instances, offer peculiar difficulty. Some erroneous concepts are so firmly fixed in the public mind that any attempt at their eradication is resented as a kind of iconoclasm, and a useless and painful iconoclasm at that.

It will, therefore, be necessary to quote sound authorities from among the recognized anthropologists of today who have specialized in the study of the natives of North America. Fortunately the validity of these authorities is undoubted and their works are readily available. Among those chiefly drawn upon for confirmation of my statements are the following:

Dr. Diamond Jenness, Chief of the Division of Anthropology of the National Museum of Canada at Ottawa, who is recognized as the outstanding authority on anthropological matters in Canada. Among the more important of his books for our present purpose is his Indians of Canada, the standard work on the subject.

Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, one of the leading scientists in his field. His Indians of the United States will be referred to frequently and also his The American Indian.

Referred to also are the works of the numerous anthropologists of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in the form of Annual Reports, Bulletins, and Miscellaneous Publications, such as the justly famous Handbook of American Indians; and lastly, but still of first importance, the numerous specialists in various restricted fields whose works will be referred to as occasion arises.

There is one point which, once more, the writer would like to make abundantly clear; -- his function is to record, not to condemn. The fallacies encountered are recorded with the same dispassionate calm as marks the grammarian who compiles a list of 'common errors' in English, and always with the understanding that the reader would never be guilty of sharing a popular fallacy.

To one familiar with some of the minutiae of Canadian anthropology, many of the fallacies met with are so ludicrously, so obviously, fallacious that it is difficult at times to suppress a smile. But the smile must not become an evidence of assumed superiority. Any man can be wise in his own subject; none can be wise in all.

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PART TWO

CHAPTER ONE

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Term "Indian"
The "Red" Indian
Indians White at Birth
The Prominent Hooked Nose
Ease of Childbirth
The Existence of "White" Indians

THE TERM "INDIAN"

The Fallacy. The use of the term "Indian" to denote an aboriginal inhabitant of America.

The Fact. An "Indian" is a 'native of India'. (1)

Examples and Comment. Let it be made quite clear to begin with that there is no intention of trying to change popular usage in this matter, though others have made the essay, as we shall see.

Columbus used the words *Indios*, which we translate as *Indians*, to designate the natives he encountered in the New World,

World, in writing his first account of the Discovery -- the Letter to Luis de Santangel, dated 15 February 1493. Speaking of the islands of which he has taken possession, he says: "To the first which I found, I gave the name Sant Salvador, ---- the Indians call it Guanaham". (2) In his Journal, the word Indians is used freely, the first instance being on the 12th of October, the day of the first landfall.(3)

The explanation of his use of the term "Indians" is familiar to all, but it is not always quite accurately put. Here is an example of a false explanation from no less weighty a source than the Encyclopedia Britannica: Columbus "believed, as did the people of his age in general, that the islands which he had discovered by sailing westward across the Atlantic were actually a part of India". (4)

But Columbus knew his Marco Polo much better than that. He was well aware that China and Japan lay far to the eastwards of India, and he was actually under the impression that he had reached, not India, but islands lying off the coast of China, a much more reasonable assumption. This is made quite clear when he mentions his belief that these islands are part of the domain of the Grand Can of China, for whom he bears letters from the Spanish monarchs, and with whome he quite confidently expected to get in touch at any moment. "I am still resolved to go to the mainland ---- and to deliver the letters of your Highnesses to the Gran Can, requesting a reply and returning with it." (21st of

October, 1492, Columbus' Journal). (5)

We see, then, that Columbus believed himself to have reached the 'Indies', or more precisely, the 'East Indies', "a name formerly applied vaguely, in the widest sense, to the whole area of India, Further India, and the Malay Archipelago, in distinction from the West Indies, which, at the time of their discovery, were taken to be the extreme parts of the Indian region". (6)

There is a notation on the back of Columbus' Letter which reads "Of the islands found in the Indies". This may have been a suggested title, or simply a heading for filing the document in the Spanish Archives. At this time, it is obvious, 'Indies' could mean only the 'East Indies', and it was not till many years later, when the West Indies were found not to be identical with the East Indies, that the term "Indians" was seen to be a misnomer, but it was then too late to do much about it. In fact, "West Indies" was for long applied, not only to the islands, but to the mainland also, and as late as 1632 Sagard, referring to the Hurons, says "our savages, and in general all the peoples of the West Indies"(Indes Occidentales) do such and such a thing.(7)

Various scientists have made efforts to substitute some other term for the word "Indians", but with no success. The most suitable alternative which has yet been suggested is the word Amerind which, according to Dr. Robert H.Lowie, developed "from merging two abbreviations -- Amer. and Ind. which figured on the labels of specimens in the National Museum" in Washington. (8)

An amusing variant of 'Indians' is found in Josselyn, who refers to 'Indesses' and adds that "many prettie Brownetto's and spider finger'd lassies may be seen amongst them." (9)

THE RED INDIANS

The Fallacy. The use of the adjective red in describing the American Indians.

The Fact. "His skin is of various shades of brown." (10)

Examples and Comment. The use of the expression "Red Indian" is much more common in England than it is in North America, where the necessity of distinguishing between natives of India and the natives of America is less frequent. The first recorded use of the adjective red in the present connection is, apparently, in 1699: "Ye firste Meetinge House was solid mayde to withstande ye wicked assaults of ye Red Skins", and again "My honoured Father was as Active as ye Red-skin Men and sinewy". (11)

Columbus mentions the colour of the natives in several passages but appears to avoid the use of the term red. He says that they are not black like the natives of Guinea, on the west coast of Africa, and that they are not even as dark as are the people of the Canary Islands. (12) Other authors refer to them as tawny or russet, as yellow or as brassy, and 'copper-colour' is also frequently used.

Modern anthropologists, however, seem to prefer the use of the word brown, "tinged in youth, particularly in the cheeks, with the red of the circulating blood". (13) Jenness is quite explicit: "Everywhere the colour of the skin is some shade of brown, varying from a yellowish to a reddish tinge; it is never a distinct red, however, so that the term "Red" Indian is really a misnomer." (14) Dr.Clark Wissler, in answer to the question, "Are all Indians similar in skin colour?" replies "Yes. They all present variations of chocolate brown." (15) He amplifies this somewhat in The American Indian and finds that chocolate brown, when light, turns towards yellow and feels that the assumption of an original yellow race is fully justified (16) and points out that this fact strengthens the theory of Asiatic origin.

So firmly fixed has the term red become that a few authors of recent date (comparatively speaking) have allowed themselves to fall into an amusing little error in saying that the Indians call themselves "red men". (17) Barbara Hawes said, in 1844, that at the time of the discovery of America, it was "peopled by very numerous tribes of Indians who called themselves Red men". (18) It hardly seems necessary to insist that they did not. They usually called themselves by some name which might be best translated as meaning 'the people'.

Anthropologists do recognize the term "Red Indians" when it is applied to the extinct Beothuks who once lived in Newfoundland. This name was given them because of their lavish use of red ochre for the decoration of their possessions and their persons, as well before as after death. Jenness says:"The Beothuk of Newfoundland gained the special designation of "Red Indians" from their custom of smearing their persons, clothing, and implements with red ochre." (19)

INDIANS WHITE AT BIRTH

The Fallacy. Indian children are white at birth.

The Fact. "A new-born infant is of varying degrees of dusky red."(20)

Examples and Comment. A number of the early writers insist that Indian babies were, if not actually white, at least very light in colour at birth. Captian John Smith in his Description of Virginia says they are "of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white". (21) This was in 1607 and his statement was quoted by Strachey in 1612 (22) which shows how quickly and easily a fallacy slips into general use, backed up by apparent authority.

Sagard says that the natives he met with "were of a tawny colour all over; ---- not that they are so at birth, for they are of the same nature as ourselves" (23) and he attributes their growing darker with their years to sunburn, grease and paint. Lescarbot (24) agrees with this explanation and it was very generally accepted, but Josselyn goes one better and insists that the Indian women actually dye their offspring "with a liquor of boiled Hemlock-bark"! (25)

Mrs. Frances Brooke, the author of The History of Emily Montague (1769), our first Canadian novel, was an unusually acute observer, but this time she has allowed herself to believe the stories told her. It is quite possible that she never had the opportunity of seeing a new-born Indian infant. The Indians, she says, "are of a copper colour, which is rendered more unpleasing by a quantity of coarse red on their cheeks; but the children, when born, are of a pale silver white; perhaps their indelicate custom of greasing their bodies, and their being so much exposed to the air and the sun even from infancy, may cause that total change of complexion, which I know not how otherwise to account for." (26)

Modern instances supply us with quite reliable information. Indian children are still being born, but they are not white; they are of a 'dusky red'. (27)

THE PROMINENT HOOKED NOSE

The Fallacy. The Indian had a prominent hooked nose.

The Fact. "The shape and height of the nose differ widely from tribe to tribe, even from individual to individual." (28)

Examples and Comment. This is one of the most definite characteristics of the 'typical Indian'. It is usually seized upon with avidity by humorous illustrators and sometimes it is grotesquely exaggerated. In the questionnaire, as we saw, 84% of the students agreed that most Indians had a prominent nose.

The earliest reference to the hooked nose that I have discovered in an account of a voyage by Jean Ribault (29) who sailed along the coast of Florida in 1562. He says of the Indians "they bee of tawny colour, hawke nosed, and of a pleasant countenance". This, of course, was an actual first-hand observation and it would be absurd to deny that Ribault may have been right in describing these people as 'hawke nosed'. He may have encountered a group in which this feature was somewhat prominently developed, not impossibly a party of Sioux, of which linguistic group there were several tribes who occupied "the central part of North Carolina and South Carolina and the piedmont region of Virginia". (30) It is precisely the Sioux, especially the Dakota Sioux, who have hawk noses; whether their eastern relatives shared the feature we do not know, for they are unfortunately extinct.

Nevertheless, it is undoubted that popular opinion in the seventeenth century had the Indians with flat noses. Shirley mentions it in Hyde Park, when Mrs. Carol says to Fairfield, "Your nose is Roman, which your next debauchment at tavern, with the help of pot or candlestick, may turn to Indian, flat."

Beltrami seems to have paid a good deal of attention to noses among other things. Of the Indians in general he says"their noses are large and flat, like those of the nations of eastern Asia" (31); he finds the noses of the Ojibwa "too flat and too wide" (32); and he considers that "the noses of the [Sioux] men especially, are quite Roman, while those of the women are perfectly Grecian" (33), in which he agrees with most abservers as to the relatively prominent noses of the Sioux.

Dr. Jenness, speaking of the Plains Indians as a group, says "More remarkable than his colour, however, was his prominent beaked nose, almost, but not quite, Semitic. Like the Semitic nose, it is inherited generation after generation, and appears even in half-breeds" (34)

Dr. Clark Wissler, speaking of the Indian profile on the United States nickle says that "this profile is characteristic of the Dakota and a few of their neighbours. The majority of Indian men have less prominent noses, while their faces are smooth, approaching feminine types".(35)

As we have already seen, the Dakota were selected by both artists and showmen as the beau ideal of Indian physical perfection, and it is for this reason that their thin, nervous faces and aquiline noses have come to be considered as typical of all Indians.

EASE OF CHILDBIRTH

The Fallacy. Indian women give birth to a child and then go about their duties almost immediately.

The Fact. The usual period of recuperation is about three days.(36)

Examples and Comment. This is one of the early fallacies. It is encountered frequently in the literature and is by no means dead today. The first example encountered dates from 1553 (37): "The women travail in manner without pain, so that the next day they are cheerful and able to walk."

Sir John Hawkins goes one better. In 1565, speaking of the women of the West Indies (38) he says that after the woman has been delivered of a child she goes and washes without making any further ceremony and does not lie in bed as our women do. Sagard, who lived for some time with the Hurons, says (39) that the women are so strong that they give birth without assistance and do not usually lie up. He adds that he himself has seen them come in with a load of wood, and give birth to a child as soon as they arrive; then they are immediately on their feet again and at their usual employment.

Josselyn, who was much interested in all scientific matters, tells the same story, and insists that the women simply seek out a bush or a tree in the woods to their liking, lie down in its shade "and are delivered in a trice, not so much as groaning for it". This was in 1675. (40)

At about the same time, LeClercq said that the Micmac women did likewise. He relates an instance in which a woman, while in a canoe, asked to be put ashore and that her companions wait for her. "She entered alone into the woods, where she was delivered of a boy; she brought him to the canoe, which she helped paddle all the rest of the journey". (41)

Numerous other and similar instances might be quoted, bringing the story down to 1915, the latest reference noted, in which we are told specifically that Indian women never perish in childbirth, and were ready for their ordinary duties in four hours. (42) This statement is by the Very Reverend W.R.Harris

The basis of these stories, many of them told by apparently reliable observers, is difficult to imagine. It is evident that some of the more remarkable instances refer to cases in which the woman was away from her home at the time of parturition and that a state of more or less emergency may therefore be presumed, but this hypothesis does not cover Josselyn's statement. There was, in his day, a very general tendency to say that the Indians were mere "beasts without brains" as Cotton Mather put it, and little better than animals; the assumption that Indian women were also like animals in the facility with which they gave birth may have been felt to be an obvious corollary.

Today doctors who attend Indian women on the reservations find that those of pure blood have confinements which are indeed easy compared with those of many white women, largely owing to the absence of malformations of the pelvis. Complications are thus less likely to ensue and, with the possible exception of some primaparas, there is little risk of trouble. Nevertheless the period of recuperation, as has already been stated, is usually about three days, and by no means the few minutes or hours of legend.

THE EXISTENCE OF WHITE INDIANS

The Fallacy. There exists a group of tribe of Indians who are as white as Europeans.

The Fact. No such people have ever been found.

Examples and Comment. Many of the early explorers heard of rumours to the effect that there were other white men in the Americas. In some cases the strange people were merely said to be white in colour; in others, they were described as having beards and being dressed like Europeans.

Sometimes the reference was to other groups of white adventurers, as when Coronado heard of De Soto's expedition advancing westwards into the interior. The early Jesuit Fathers, too, heard of white men to the north and west of them who were probably whalers coasting along the southern shores of Hudson Bay. Quite authentic, too, were the accounts of white men that Mackenzie heard on the coast of British Columbia, about a month before he himself reached the salt water.

Altogether apart from these accounts is a large group of stories which have much less basis in fact. There were persistent tales of a tribe of 'Welsh' Indians, who were to be found inland, but these people mysteriously retreated ever westwards, ever a little ahead of advancing civilization. For some time the Mandans were said to be these long-lost Welshmen, but, when they were visited by Catlin,he found indeed a few albinos among them, but no Welshmen. Further and further westwards did rumour carry the 'white' Indians, till the distinction was thrust upon the Modocs, partly on account of their name, for Prince Madoc was supposed to have been the leader whose banner they had followed when they left Wales in 1170. (43)

Even today such stories are still current, and it is only a few years ago that the newspapers were proclaiming the discovery of a tribe of white Indians in Panama. On investigation it was found that there was indeed a village in which a family of albinos was to be seen, and they appear to have been the only solid basis for the whole yarn.

There were several groups who were only too anxious to have people agree with the hypothesis of the existence of a tribe of 'white Indians'. Among these were the numerous supporters of the theory that the Indians were the 'lost ten tribes of Israel' and some of our more important early books about the Indians are due to the activities of these devoted visionaries, such as Adair and Lord Kingsborough.(44)

Again, some groups of mixed-blood Indians felt that some advantage might accrue to them if they could show that they were more white than Indian, as did the 'Croatan' Indians who claimed to be the remnants of Raleigh's lost colony of Croatan, who had intermarried with their Indian 'rescuers'. Further south there are other groups, mixtures of white forest-rovers, remnants of Indian tribes, runaway negro slaves and shipwrecked sailors; many of these people insist vigorously that they are 'white men' , and some of the "White Indian" stories may be traced to these groups. (45)

In the early part of this section of the paper, it was pointed out, by means of a quotation from Dr. Holmes, that it is difficult for even the most careful to steer a clear course through the seas of learning, so beset is he by the shoals of error and the reefs of fantastic invention. An example of these dangers is to be found in the following translation of a section of de Quatrefages's *Human Species* (1879), which was a standard work at the time. He is discussing the distribution of the main groups of mankind on the face of the earth, and he has divided them into white, red, yellow, and black, as was the standard practice in his day. He says:

"The white type is more widely represented in America than the black. Along the whole of the north-west coast, Meares, Marchand, La Pèrouse, Dixon and Maurelle have observed populations which, judging from some of their descriptions, would seem to be of pure white race. Upon the Upper Missouri, the Kiawas, Kaskaias and the Lee Panis possess, we are assured, the attributes of the purest white races, including their fair hair. The Mandans have, from our present point of view, always attracted attention. Captain Graa, again, found in Greenland men speaking Esquimau, but tall, thin, and fair." (46)

De Quatrefages continues with numerous similar examples from South America. All the tribes he mentions are well known today to possess no trace of white blood, except that due to recent intermarriage. His whole argument is vitiated and rendered abortive by careless reporting of the facts, and a tendency to over-emphasize the few exceptions to a very general rule. There are no white Indians. One is reminded of Stefansson and the 'blond Eskimo' of whom he made so much, and who are equally non-existent. (47)

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43. Handbook of the American Indians s.v. Welsh Indians

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PART TWO

CHAPTER TWO

MATERIAL CULTURE

Archery
ArrowmMaking
Tomahawks
Hafting
Feathers
Fire Lighting
Division of Labour
Wampum
Copper
Medicine
Time Element

By the term 'material culture', we understand all those ekements, such as clothes, tools, weapons, houses, and raw materials, which make up the physical part of Indian culture. In this field are to be found many fallacies, as might well be expected, for, not only is it a large field and filled with concrete objects, but the culture of the white man and the culture of the Indian differed so widely that misunderstandings were bound to result from casual or hasty observation.

These differences in culture, it should be noted, are much greater now than they were during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The early settlers had known a very simple life in England and in France before the development of machinery brought about the Industrial Revolution and many of the apparent distinctions between the settlers and the native were somewhat superficial. Moreover the shortage of white women led to frequent intermarriage of the two races. (1)

Later in time, and farther westwards in space, the conflict between the races was more marked, partly because the cultures of the two,were growing ever more divergent, and the problem the Indian faced in trying to adjust himself to the new situation was becoming continually more difficult, if not impossible, of solution. Today psychologists tell us that the principal factor contributing to mental collapse, the fashionable 'nervous breakdown', is being faced with an insoluble psychical problem, and this is precisely the situation which confronted the Indian.

The white man, grown so far from his point of view and his culture, no longer 'understood' the Indian. This is clearly reflected in the late appearance of some fallacies have to do with Indian technological processes, such as the 'tempering' of copper, and the methods of hafting aboriginal implements, processes which were no longer familiar to the whites and about which stories began to be invented as means of explaining them, stories which would have been quite unnecessary a couple of hundred years before, when the simpler technical processes of the two cultures approached each other much more closely.

ARCHERY

The Fallacy. The Indians were skilful archers.

The Fact. "The utmost flight, the certainty of aim, and the piercing powers of Indian arrows are not known, and stories about them are greatly exaggerated." (2)

Examples and Comment. Very early references to the skill of Indian archers are scarce. Columbus gives details of their methods of making arrows but has a poor opinion of their shooting, saying "they do not shoot as in other parts, but in a certain way which cannot do much harm". (3) Neither do those who followed him in the next hundred years have much to say in praise of Indian marksmanship, but it should be borne in mind that these people were themselves familiar with the use of the bow, which "endured as one of the principal arms of the English soldier until about 1590" (4) and was even used this year by native warriors in the campaign in Ethiopia. Later Europeans, however, who had never used a bow themselves, were much impressed by the skill of the Indians.

In fiction, we are continually encountering references to "the unerring aim of the red man", their "dexterity and force", their "great precision" (5), their "Unerring arrows" (6), "wonderful precision and surprising aptitude"(7), and countless other examples of this fallacy could be compiled, all of which exaggerated tales are a part of the belief in the Indian's almost supernatural skill in woodcraft, which has always amazed white men, especially those of them who have never had occasion to develop similar abilities in themselves.

As a matter of fact, good shooting was not possible with the bows and, more especially, the arrows made by most of the North American Indian tribes. A warped arrow will not fly straight, no matter how careful the aim, nor will an arrow fletched with only two feathers instead of three. In securing the meat needed for their daily food the Indians relied, not upon marksmanship so accurate that it enabled them to bring down their game at a distance, but rather upon their skill in creeping so close to their quarry that it could hardly escape them.

Not only was this method of hunting employed by the many forest-dwelling tribes, but also the Indians of the prairies, after they had acquired horses, used to ride up close to the buffalo before shooting, as many contemporary drawings reveal. "The short stiff bow [of the buffalo hunter] is little calculated for accurate marksmanship, or for a distant shot; riding at full speed the Indian generally waits till he has overtaken his prey, and discharges his arrow from a distance of a few feet."(8).

Beltrami, who visited the Sauk Indians in 1828, says that he saw little Indian boys, nine or ten years old, hit a piece of "six sous" at twenty-five paces "often at the second shot". He even had to remove his targets to thirty-five paces to lower his expenses! This is an evident exaggeration, a typical 'traveller's tale', as will be obvious when we consider that a six sous piece can hardly have been much more than an inch in diameter, and that the 'gold' or center of a regulation archery target today is nine and three-fifths inches in diameter (9). There are some professional trick shots who could hit a one-inch mark at twenty-five yards, using the very best of tackle procurable, but they are not boys of nine or ten. Indian bows were poor as a rule, and their arrows worse, and were by no means suitable for such shooting. (10)

Another point is the question as to whether the Indians poisoned their arrows. In the realms of fiction, they most undoubtedly did so, but the facts seem to indicate otherwise. In 1687, Clayton (11) in writing of the natives of Virginia says that there were traditions of their "having an art to poison their darts, but I could never find any solid ground for that report". Parkman refers at least twice to the use of poisoned arrows by the Eries, but gives no details of the ingredients of the poison, nor of the manner of its application (12). In South America, darts for the blow-gun certainly were poisoned, and the blow-gun was known along the Atlantic coast in North America, but the darts do not appear to have been poisoned there. On the whole, the evidence for the use of poisoned arrows is so weak as to be inadmissable. (13)

ARROW MAKING

The Fallacy. Chipped stone arrow-heads were made by heating the stone and then allowing cold water to touch it.

The Fact. Chipped stone implements (including arrow-heads) were made by the pressure-fracture method. (14)

Examples and Comment. "When an Indian wished to make an arrowhead, he held a piece of flint in the fire until it was very hot, then allowed drops of water to drip from the end of a stick upon the spot to be chipped off. The sudden cooling caused the flint to chip off immediately."(15) This remarkable statement appeared in 1915, in an official report issued by the Province of Ontario!

It has often been said that the method of making chipped stone arrow-heads is a 'lost art'. Thoreau, in 1864, spoke of "finding the point of an arrowhead, such as they have not used for two centuries and now know not how to make."(16) but as early as 1607 Captain John Smith had explained how the chipped stone points were made: "His Arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer [wrist guard], of any splint of a stone or glasse, in the form of a hart."(17) Obviously he is referring to the use of the 'flaking tool', an instrument very familiar to archeologists in the western hemisphere, and his note that it is commonly carried 'at the bracer' is of great interest. So also is the note that the Indians sometimes used glass for making arrow-heads. Various native tribes, in America and elsewhere, such as the Australian aborigines, have found glass, obtained from the whites, an excellent material for chipping.

But when Brownell refers to this passage of Smith's, in 1853, he misses the point completely; he suggests that the 'small bone' was used to "hold the flint while it was chipped into shape by another stone", (18) Actually, the stone to be chipped is held in the left hand and the flaking is done with the bone flaker itself, held in the right hand. Brownell did not know the use of the flaker, the process had become one of the 'lost arts', and it was not until 1895 that Frank Cushing demonstrated the use of this prehistoric tool. (19)

The ancient art of flaking and chipping flint had probably not been practiced in Europe or Asia once the metals had superseded stone for arrow-heads in any given district; and, though chipped stone points were still in use in North America, the process was quite unfamiliar to Europeans. In all possibility, Captain John Smith was one of the first Englishmen to see it done.

As fast as they obtained firearms, the Indians themselves first abandoned, and then forgot, the method. In the course of time, false explanations of the method were invented, the best known being the hot stone and cold water process referred to at the beginning of this section. One of the early examples of it is found in the Decades of Peter Martyr (1555). He says the razors of the people of the West Indies are made of "certain yellow stones, clear and transparent, like unto crystal". They are sharp enough to shave with and when they are blunted from use "they sharpen them not with a whetstone, or powder, or any other stone, but temper them only with water". (20)

Now, to temper steel, it is heated to a pre-determined temperature and then plunged into oil or water; the implication here seems to be that these stone razors were treated in the same way. That such handling would result in their immediate fracture seemed fairly obvious, but it was determined to put the matter to the test. A flint knife, 2¾ inches long, 1 inch broad, and less than 1/8 th of an inch thick was heated and plunged into cold water.

The water bubbled and steamed, but the stone did not chip or break. A sedond attempt was made with a like result. On the third attempt the blade broke into three unequal parts, the fractures occurring at right angles to the long axis of the knife. The largest section, about 1¼ inches long, was reheated and a drop of cold water was allowed to fall on the edge. No chip flew off, and it was determined to reheat it for a second trial, when it accidentally fell and shattered into three pieces. The edges of the various breaks were examined with a lens and it was found that the stone abounded in minute cracks and flaws and, further, that these edges were in no way similar to the edges produced by the usual pressure-flaking method of chipping stone points. (21) This method of chipping blades and points is discussed and illustrated in detail in Bulletin 60 of the Bureau of American Ethnology (22) which was published in 1919. It provides an excellent example of the fact that it is hard indeed for scientific truth to catch up with popular fallacies.

TOMAHAWKS

The Fallacy. A tomahawk is a little steel hatchet.

The Fact. "The tomahawk was originally a club". (23)

Examples and Comment. Webster's Imperial Dictionary of 1909 has, to illustrate a tomahawk, two objects which are obviously traders' "Pipe-tomahawks", a curious combination of blade and bowl which could, at least in theory, be either smoked or used as lethal weapons. The definition of a tomahawk which accompanies them is as follows: "An Indian hatchet, used in the chase and in war, not only in close fighting, but by being thrown to a considerable distance, often so dextrously that the sharp edge first strikes the object aimed at. The native tomahawks have heads of stone attached by thongs, etc., to the end of the shaft, but steel heads are now largely supplied by American and European traders".

The 'little steel hatchet' is a sine qua non of the Indian of the popular concept. Of four of the 'tin soldiers' in my collection of Indian figures, three are brandishing these weapons: one while riding, one prowling, and one creeping. A cartoon showing an Indian engaged in any occupation which is in the least warlike includes a steel hatchet, but very few show him armed with a club, though that is what a tomahawk actually was and, for that matter, still is.

The Handbook of American Indians declares: "A common conception of the tomahawk is that it was the nearest aboriginal representative of the European hatchet, although the term was early applied to various forms of club" and it then goes on to quote various authors to prove the point. Among these authors is McCullough, who says: "The hatchets of the Indians that are now called tomahawks are of European device, and the stone hatchets so often found in our fields and called by the same term were not military weapons, but mechanical tools".

The common misapprehension is shared by the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, where a tomahawk is defined as "the war-hatchet of the North American Indians" even though it derives the name, correctly enough, from the Algonquian verb *otomahuk*, to knock down.

HAFTING

The Fallacy. Blades were hafted by putting them in a split sapling and waiting for the wood to grow round them.

The Fact. Blades were hafted in various ways, but not in the manner stated in the fallacy.

Examples and Comment. Brownell in his *Indian Races of North and South America* (1853) explained the method of hafting a tomahawk thus: "A handle was commonly affixed to the "tom-hog" or tomahawk by inserting it in a split sapling, and waiting for the wood to grow firmly round it: after which it was cut off at the requisite length."

In his day Brownell had some reputation as an anthropologist and his *Indian Races* is included in the selected bibliography in the *Handbook of American Indians.* His account of hafting the 'tom-hog' is, of course, pure fiction, as he could easily have determined for himself if he had taken the trouble to examine a few of these weapons.

This question of hafting seems to be one which interests a good many visitors to museums, and questions are frequently asked about it. Several methods were in use, varying from simple lashings with fibre cords as on the Pacific Coast, to enclosing part of the blade and of the handle in wet rawhide and allowing it to shrink into a tight, firm wrapping, as was done on the prairies. Part of the mystery lies, perhaps, in the fact that stone axe blades and hammers, when found as they often are in a ploughed field, are almost always without any trace of a handle, for the wood and its fastenings, which are of organic materials, have rotted away. Moreover, stone tools, when polished, are very smooth and the affixing of a handle is a problem which might well give one pause. Having metal tools ourselves, in which sockets are cast or cut, hafting is much simplified and we have here an excellent example of the principle that technical processes now forgotten are apt to be explained in strange ways.

An even less credible fabrication has been called to my attention by Mr. W.J.Wintemberg, until recently Associate Archeologist of the National Museum of Canada. He was told, in all seriousness, that the Indians used to whittle their axe and adze blades out of fine-grained wood, immerse them in a petrifying spring, and leave them there till they were turned into stone, all ready for use as tools or weapons. Se non è'vero, è ben trovato.

FEATHERS

The Fallacy. Most Indian chiefs wore large feather head-dresses.

The Fact. The eagle-plume head-dress is a recent 'parade' costume, originally confined to a small group of Prairie Indians.

Examples and Comment. "Some had tufts of feathers on their heads" wrote Columbus (25), and the Indian has been made to wear feathers ever since.

In looking over a group of fifteen humorous pictures of Indians, I find only one which does not show them wearing feathers, and every figure in my small collection wears at least two, and generally many more.

Feathers have been insisted on through all the changing concepts of the Indians. When Dryden collaborated with Sir Robert Howard in writing The Indian Queen, he wrote in stage directions which described "Priests, in Habits of white and red Feathers" and the role of Zempoalla, the heroine, was played by Mrs. Marshall in a "real Indian dress of feathers" which had been presented for the occasion by Mrs. Aphra Behn, the famous novelist, who recognized a chance for some discreet advertising when she saw it. (26)

The Inns of Court Masque had the amateur-actor lawyers wearing coronets of "high-sprigged feathers" (27) .while Smollett has an Indian bride with "a couple of gaudy parrot's feathers stuck through the division of the nostrils" (28) and lest some carping critic should cry that there are no parrots in that part of America, which is true, we must point out that the sale of feathers to the Indians was an important branch of trade in those days. Dr. Marius Barbeau, of the National Museum of Canada, recently found, in the Seminary of Quebec, some old records of accounts between the North-West Company and Phyl. Inglis of London. One of the bills is for a shipment of "green, blue, yellow, scarlet feathers"; another for"circle Fethers and Flat Ostrich"; while a third lists "Plumes vertes de Chef". This was about 1800.

Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* and Milton in *Paradise Lost* both have the Indians all befeathered, and so does almost every author who writes of them. There is but little wrong with this, except that it should be remembered that feathers, while used extensively, were used as a special addition to mark an occasion, they were not worn always. Dr. Clark Wissler points this out: "Nowhere was feather headgear the regular costume, but rather was it worn as regalia or insignia". (29)

A more serious fallacy is seen in the assumption that the large head-dress of eagle-plumes which we see represented so often today was typical of all Indian tribes and that its possession indicated that its owner was a chief.

TO quote once more from Dr. Wissler, who has written several times on this theme: "We expect all Indians to wear the Dakota costume so that no matter what the tribe, all modern Indians appear in it. It is the conventional formal dress of the contemporary Indian, but it was devised by members of the Siouan family and popularized by the Dakota." (30)

Feather ornaments were very popular among the natives of the prairies, and they are often conspicuous in museum exhibits, but to appreciate them at their full one must remember that they were intended to be seen in motion. In a glass case they are but dull and lifeless things, in comparison with what they can be, streaming out behind a galloping horseman, or swaying gently in a light breeze while their wearer stands or sits in the impassive dignity demanded by Indian etiquette.

The ornaments worn by the Indians, whether of feathers or other materials, seem to have been a constant source of interest to visitors. As early as 1612, Strachey was moved to note that: "Some of their men there will be who will weare in these holes /in their ears/ a small greene and yellow-coloured live snake, neere a half a yard in length, which crawling and lapping himself about his neck oftentymes familiarly, he suffereth to kisse his lippes. Others waer a dead ratt tyed by the tayle, and such like conundrums." (31)

FIRE LIGHTING

The Fallacy. The Indians made fire by rubbing two sticks together.

The Fact. The statement is, in bare essence, true. it errs in that suppressio veri, suggestio falsi.

Example and Comment. Here, in 1565, is the fallacious form of the statement at its simplest: "There is one thing to be marvelled at, for the making of their fire, ---- which is made onely by two sticks, rubbing them one against another." (32) The fallacy is to be found again and again in literature, often in as simple and stark a form as this, though now and then some concession to probability is made and the adjective dry is used to qualify the sticks.

Captain John Smith, ever an accurate observer, puts the facts much more clearly. He points out that the apparatus must include a rotating stick or shaft, which must be dry and specially shaped, that this shaft chafes a hole in another piece of wood (the hearth), which "firing itself" would so fire moss, leaves, or anie such like drie thing that will quickly burn." (33) That is a good deal better than the bald and misleading statement of Megapolensis who said of the Mohawks: "They can get fire by rubbing two pieces of wood against one another, and that very quickly." (34)

Actually the construction of a fire drill is an art, and its successful use an even greater one. Wood of the right quality, both for the shaft and for the hearth, has to be selected, and then properly shaped, which requires both care and experience. Tinder, too, has to be chosen carefully, and the whole apparatus must be kept perfectly dry. In use, the shaft must be rotated continuously on the hearth so as to grind off wood meal quickly enough to generate heat, but not so roughly as to disturb the little cone of smoking powder which is forming at the edge of the hearth. The whole process requires much practice and the acquisition of a definite knack. To one accustomed to the fire-drill, the trick is simple enough, and the Boy Scout record is, I understand, about nine seconds to obtain fire; but even those used to the equipment admit that if things are not just right they get "more sweat than fire". It is by no means simply a matter of 'rubbing two sticks together'. (35)

After the above section was completed, the following little story was encountered in one of the supplementary readers prepared for the schools, entitled All About Indians. It reads as follows:

HOW AN INDIAN LIGHTS A FIRE WITHOUT MATCHES

First he gathers some dry leaves and brush, which he places under a little pile of sticks to be ready.

Then he looks about until he finds a stone with a small hole in it. He takes a stalk of the soap-weed plant and puts one end of it into the hole in the stone.

Putting one open palm on each side of the soap-weed stalk, he makes the stalk twirl back and forth in the hole,

very quickly.
Soon smoke begins to rise at the end of the stalk in the hole.
When it bursts into flame, he pushes the blazing stalk into the dry leaves under the bonfire.
Try and see if you can light a fire in this way. (36)

Surely the ironical note in that last line can not have altogether unconscious!

DIVISION OF LABOUR

The Fallacy. Indian men made the women do all the hard work.

The Fact. "The women busy themselves at what is proper for them, and the men at that which pertains to arms, and other things befitting them." (37)

Examples and Comment. "That the Indian is characteristically indolent, imposing all labour upon the squaw, and devoting his time to war and the chase, requires no proof." (38) A clear case of conviction before the trial, but by no means unique, for this is one of the most firmly rooted of all the fallacies. I have collected about sixty examples of it and have omitted recording perhaps as many more. It occurs in every century since it was started by Columbus, when he wrote: "The women, it appears to me, do more work than the men." (39) That is the simplest form of the statement; often, apparently with the intention of making the conduct of the men look blacker than ever, there is an addition to the effect that, far from condescending to do any work, they spend their time in the trivial amusements of hunting and fishing.

Another variation on the same theme is about the men's habit of leaving their game in the woods, just where it fell, for the women to bring in to camp, as in the following: In winter time they are their husbands Caterers, trudging to the Clamm bankes for their belly timber, and their Porterers to lugge home their Venison which their lazinesse exposes to the Wolves till they impose it upon their wives shoulders." (40)

There is no end to the sad pictures of the lot of the Indian woman drawn by innumerable authors throughout the years. One of them goes so far as to suggest that this is the reason Indian women are not very tall, "a fact which may be confidently acribed to the oppressive drudgery thay are compelled to undergo." (41)

Mrs. Jameson in her Sketches in Canada and Rambles Among the Red Men (1837) saw things in a clearer light. She appears to have been quite familiar with this accusation against the Indian and replied: "When it is said, in general terms, that the men do nothing but hunt all day, while the women are engaged in perpetual toil, I suppose that this suggests to civilized readers the idea of a party of gentlemen at Melton, or a turn-out of Mr. Meynell's hounds; or at most a deer-stalking expedition to the Highlands -- a holiday affair; while the women, poor souls! must sit at home and sew, and spin, and cook victuals. But what is really the life of an Indian hunter? -- one of incessant, almost killing toil, and often danger." (42)

Mrs. Jameson was undoubtedly on the right trail. The point is still further clarified in the Handbook of American Indians: "The men did all the hunting, fishing, and trapping, which in savagery was always toilsome, frequently dangerous, and not rarely fatal, especially in winter." (43)

The impression that the women were more occupied than the men might easily be gained when visiting an Indian camp or village, especially in earlier days, when the arrival of a white man was an event of importance and all the men in the place would naturally drop whatever they were doing in the determination to see and hear the distinguished guest. The work of the women, however, would of necessity continue very much as usual, probably with additional food to be prepared for the visitors. In later, reservation, days the men have indeed but little to do, unless thay are farmers, but the housekeeping duties of the women go on much as they always did.

The situation was much the same in our own pioneer families. It is noted in Fanny Kelly's Captivity that, in the covered waggon migration to the west, "women in many instances drove the teams to prevent their husbands or fathers being taken at a disadvantage; weapons were in every man's hands, and vigilant eyes were fixed on every bluff and gorge, anticipating attack." (44) But nobody would dream of accusing the men of 'making' their women drive the teams; it was their share of the venture, an honour eagerly sought and most jealously preserved, which the women would never dream of relinquishing, until they were once more in safe and settled lands.

Such, almost precisely, was the case with the Indians too, especially after the land-stealing, game-slaughtering white men invaded their country. Attack was a very real possibility at any minute of the day or night, and an unprovoked attack at that, as likely as not. Not only must the man hunt continuously to secure game to feed his people but he must do his hunting with a watchful eye on the risk of being hunted in his turn.

Hunting, moreover, was a full-time occupation. Dr. Wissler, after careful calculation, estimates that to feed a band of one hundred people, the hunters must bring in 400 pounds of meat per diem. Assuming that a deer weighs 100 pounds when dressed, this would be four head of deer daily, which means a great deal of persistent, skilful hunting. In addition to these duties are the making and repairing of all equipment, such as bows and arrows, canoes in those districts where they were used, snowshoes, traps, and many other articles and tools. "Taking all this into account, as well as some allotment of time for war and defense, we see that the Indian male was not altogether a gentleman of leisure." (45)

On the whole, the division of labour was not at all unfair, and it was fundamentally the same as our own. The man provides the food, and such raw materials as are needed for shelter and clothing. The woman looks after the preparation of the food, the making of the clothing, cares for the house, and looks after the children.

Of the students answering the questionnaire, 89% were agreed that the women did more work, which is not surprising for they were probably taught that in school. Drake's Indian History for Young Folks (1884), for instance, says bluntly, "most of the hard work is done by the women." (46)

WAMPUM

The Fallacy. Indians could read the beads in a wampum belt.
The Fact. Wampum belts were used as a mnemonic device, and were not 'read' in any true sense.

Examples and Comment. I have before me an advertisement from the pages of Life, of late in 1940. (See Fig.2). Just what product is being advertised I can no longer determine, but the advertisement shows a portrait of Ripley, the cartoonist, presumably broadcasting through the microphone beside him. "White beads -- peace! Red beads -- war! That was their meaning in the wampum script of the North American Indians, who "wrote" by stringing various coloured beads together." There is more, but the rest of it is not to our immediate purpose. The whole is headed "Believe It or Not!" and in this case I am forced to advise against belief, for the following reasons: There were no red beads in wampum; there was no 'wampum script'; wampum was not used by the 'North American Indians', but only by a few of them.

It is perfectly true that wampum was used as a means of recording an event, but the limitations of the device seem to be imperfectly realized. One erroneous, but popular, impression is that each bead represents a word. Thus we find in Laing: "the mysterious message was held in white shell strings; every shell in the string held a word that had been talked into it." (47)

An even more ludicrous example is in the play Logan, all the historical allusions in which the author assures us are accurate. It was written in 1821 by a Dr. J. Doddridge who lets his hero, the famous Indian leader, read from a wampum belt his speech, familiar to every American school boy: "I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not to eat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not ---." (48)

Actually there are beads of but two colours in a wampum record: white and purple. They were both made from the same shell, that of the quahog, a marine clam (Venus mercenaria), most of the shell of which is white and a smaller part (some 10% perhaps) is purple. There were threaded on the weft threads of a fibre belt of very loose weave, so as to form crude pictures and designs, such as those of the outline of a man, of a weapon, or a lozenge or a triangle, as shown in the illustration.

Among the wampum belts in the National Museum of Canada is one, mainly white, which shows a white man, represented by a figure composed of white beads which are outlined by purple beads, connected by a purple band of beads to an Indian at the other end of the belt, represented by the figure of a man in solid purple. The band of purple beads represents a treaty between the white man and the Indian, and the belt is simply a mnemonic record of the fact that such a treaty was entered into.

Another is a purple belt, with six white lozenges and two diagonal bars. The diagonal bars represent props, or supporters, or allies, and the belt records the fact that two minor groups became the allies of the Six Nations, who are represented by the lozenges. As for the idea that red beads meant war, it is true that a wampum belt was sometimes painted with red paint and sent as a token that war was contemplated, but such belts were hardly mnemonic. (49)

Incidentally, we often see pictures of Indians of the plains using wampum, or read of their doing so. Actually the original distribution of true wampum was confined to the New England coast. As the whites penetrated inland they carried the custom of using wampum, both for money and for the preservation of records, with them, and the Iroquois had none till the seventeenth century. (50) It never did reach the prairies proper, becoming extinct in the land of its origin and of its adoption before the white man invaded the great central plains in any numbers.

Another idea occasionally encountered is that wampum belts were used as armour. Thus in Hiawatha:

> For the shafts of Hiawatha
> Harmless hit the shirt of wampum
> But it could not break the meshes
> Of that magic shirt of wampum. (51)

There is no record of wampum being used as armour, as far as I am aware, except in imaginative literature, and here the case is made unusually hard in that tradition credits Hiawatha with the invention of using wampum as a mnemonic, using fresh-water shells for the purpose (52). But Hiawatha was an Onondaga, a tribe who did not use wampum at that time, yet here Longfellow has it being used to foil the man who invented it, though for another purpose. It is altogether a rather complicated situation, only to be solved by remembering that Hiawatha did not invent wampum and that it was not used as armour.

To the statement that Indians could 'read' the beads in a wampum belt, just as we read a book, 60% of the students at St. Patrick's College and 73% of those at the Normal School answered yes. This is not surprising when even such a woman as Pauline Johnson, herself of Indian blood, can write: "the writer urges the authenticity of the ancient Wampum records of the Iroquois, which are as undeniably accurate as the jealously guarded literature and chronicles of any extremely conservative nation can well be." (53)

TEMPERING COPPER

The Fallacy. The Indians knew how to temper copper.
The Fact. No such process is known today, and no examples of tempered copper are known to exist.
Examples and Comment. This is a well-established fallacy, which seems to be more common in spoken myth than in literature.(54) The story is a very old one and is by no means confined to North America; the ancient Egyptians were said to possess this secret, as well as the Mexicans, and the Eskimos. And still the story is ever new: in 1911 or 1912 I met an itinerant blacksmith, in the interior of British Columbia, who whispered enough of his 'secret process' in the ear of a fellow smith to obtain several weeks' dishonest

board and lodging while trying the few experiments he said were necessary to 'finish up his formula'.

It is quite true that the Indians used copper. It was mined extensively by them in the Lake Superior district and was carried far in trade. Many types of tools and weapons were made from the metal, which was treated as malleable stone; it does not appear to have been smelted, or cast in moulds, at any rate north of Mexico. The Eskimo living in the neighbourhood of Corontation Gulf also made use of copper, which was found lying here and there on the surface in nuggets. (55)

Dr. Clark Wissler says that "the edges of copper tools were hardened by the cold-hammering process and as a result were harder than soft iron," but makes no mention of actual heat tempering (56), and the Handbook, speaking of the same subject says "there is no real foundation for this belief." (57) Nevertheless , in some of the old Catalogues of the National Museum of Canada, daggers made on the West Coast in about 1870 to 1880 are entered as 'Dagger of tempered copper'. There is not a shred of evidence to show that the copper was 'tempered'; the cataloguer merely hoped it was!

MEDICINE

The Fallacy. Indian medicine men were highly skilled.

The Fact. Indian medicine men believed sickness to be due to the action of malignant spirits, and treated their patients accordingly. There was some empirical use of herbal remedies.

Examples and Comment. In the questionnaire the statement "Indian medicine men knew how to cure many diseases" brought a curious answer. The very youngest boys, aged twelve and thirteen, were only 19% in agreement, but the percentage of those giving an affirmative answer gradually rose till it reached 70% for students of twenty and over. The Normal School students voted 44% in favour of an affirmative reply, about the same as the boys of 16 (45%). Why the proportion of those believing this fallacy to be true increases as they grow older and, presumably, wiser, it is difficult to imagine.

A few years ago, at the annual Central Canada Exhibition held in Ottawa, I saw a vendor of patent medicines who appeared to be doing a very fair business. Perhaps I should not say patent medicines, for I have no reason to believe that his formulae were patented; in all probability they were concoctions of his own, possibly extempore. Accompanying him was an 'Indian', who was dressed, of course, in the conventional 'Indian' costume -- white buckskin, face paint and a large feather war-bonnet. He pounded lustily on a drum and occasionally performed a few perfunctory dance steps. The salesman (pitchman is, I understand, the technical term) explained that the remedies he had for sale were compounded from a secret formula which he himself had learned directly from a famous Indian 'medicine-man', who had actually saved his (the pitchman's) life by the timely application of them. He had an interested and profitably audience, who followed his words with close attention. (58)

The belief that the Indians knew a great deal of the healing art is as old as our acquaintance with the Indians themselves. It is a belief which, like so many others, we are able to trace back to Columbus, who noted "a grain which they put into a porringer of water and drank it. The Indians who were on board said that this was very wholesome." (59) On another occasion he was told by an Indian "by signs that the mastic [gum] was good for pains in the stomach.(60) If one is inclined to show surprise that Columbus and the Indians should be discussing medicines so early in their acquaintance it must be remembered that spices and drugs were very valuable commodities in those days, and that many a good ship made her owner's fortune with a single cargo of such merchandise. This was why Columbus was so careful to tell Their Highnesses of Spain that he believed that he had discovered rhubarb and cinnamon. (See page 31).

Not only were drugs valuable, but the interest in materia medica was very great in his time. Every strange plant was examined with care as the possible source of some valuable new remedy, and the early descriptions of the flora of America are written from the point of view of the herbalist. In 1577, John Frampton translated into English a book to which he gave the title Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde which described the medicines and herbs brought from the Spanish possessions; similar in point of view was Josselyn's New England&s Rareties of 1672.

As we have already seen, most of the Indians on the Atlantic sea-coast with whom the first settlers met were of Algonkian stock, and it so happens that this particular group of natives had more interest in, and more knowledge of, herbal remedies than any of the others. The successful cure of the scurvy which was decimating Cartier's ranks is an incident familiar to all, and there is no doubt that the Indian women, who were more apt to be skilled in this branch of native therapeutics than the men, had some knowledge of the virtues of various plants.

Another point is that medicine, as a science, was not much more advanced among the French and English settlers of that day than it was among the Indians.(61) In Europe, the medicinal value of plants was judged largely by the criteria offered by the doctrine of signatures: the theory that every drug-yielding plant bore in its physical appearance some clue to its properties in healing; thus, if a plant had a heart-shaped leaf, it must be good for 'heart-trouble'; while a plant which bore kidney-shaped seeds must be valuable in cases of 'kidney-trouble'. This idea was prevalent, not only among European doctors but also among the Indians, who were also firmly convinced of its value as a guide to the hidden virtues of plants. Thus Loskiel, in 1794, says: "The Indians are remarkably skilled in curing the bite of venomous serpents, and have found a medicine peculiarly adapted to the bite of each species. For example: the leaf of the rattlesnake root [Epipactis tesselata?] ---- is the most efficacious remedy against the bite of this dreadful animal." (62) It happens that the leaves of this orchid are tesselated and look like the skin of a snake, if not examined too critically: according to the doctrine of signatures, then, if it looks like a snake, it must be good for snake bite!

I have amassed nearly fifty extracts vaunting the virtues of Indian remedies. Some authors assure us that the Indians just couldn't fall sick, because they had such good drugs, and they died of sheer old age. (63) Others assure us that they can cure white people who have been given up by their own doctors, and these stories are still common in the folk medicine of today. It was as recently as November, 1940, that I was informed by a French-Canadian laborer that he had a relative by marriage, an Indian doctor, whose services he would always recommend in preference to those of any 'white' doctor in Ottawa or Hull.

It is not only in books of travel or of science that we learn of the skill of the Indian doctor; books of fiction also tell of his art. In The Man of the World, Mackenzie makes one of his characters say "The senior chief, ---- chewing some herbs he found in the wood, applied them to my sores, which, in a few days, were almost entirely healed."(64)

In earlier days many white physicians actually did seek for Indian remedies which might have genuine merit, and some of these early research workers are still remembered. In Brother Square-Toes Rudyard Kipling mentions Apothecary Tobias Hirte, of 118 Second Street, Philadelphia, and refers to him as "the famous Seneca Oil man, that lived half of every year among the Indians." (65) Most unfortunately, I neglected when last in Philadelphia to check this bit of 'local colour', but my confidence in Kipling's integrity as a craftsman is enough to convince me that Tobias Hirte did actually exist and was a famous Seneca Oil man.. The race is not yet extinct.

Seneca Oil was nothing more than crude petroleum, which was obtained in several places where it floated on top of the water in open springs. Loskiel says that the Indians, about 1790, used to sell it to white people at five guineas (roughly $25) a quart. (66) The name was derived from Lake Seneca, which was one of the sources of the oil. Among other people who sold the oil for medicinal purposes were Nervin, Mackeown & Co.; Samuel M. Kier; and Dr. Keyser. It was used as a liniment for rheumatism, sprains and swellings; as an ointment for headaches and toothache, and was even taken internally.(67) Some dealers preferred the name Mustang Salve to the somewhat tamer Seneca Oil, though this lost the Indian cachet.

There are many phases of Indian medicine which can not be touched upon here, such as the sweat-bath; the semi-religious, semi-therapeutic feasts, games, and dances; the incantations of the professional medicine-men (as apart from the drug women); and the theory that diseases were due to the presence and action of malignant spirits. (68) The essential fact is that, with the exception of a few herbal remedies which had genuine curative properties, and the simplest of surgical procedures (69) such as lancing a boil or setting a simple fracture (and even this was not always within their capacity) the Indian's knowledge of medicine was about equal to that of an uneducated farm laborer today.

THE TIME ELEMENT

The Fallacy. Indians spent weary years making such a thing as a stone axe or hammer.

The Fact. An Indian axe or hammer can be shaped and polished, using only Indian tools, in about two hours.

Examples and Comment. We often hear that stone implements took months, or even years, to shape. Here are some actual examples: "Ganiuska labored for long hours patiently shaping and polishing a heavy ax of granite. ---- He said to Waundana: 'Before the cold moons are ended, Ganiuska will shape a fine ax of granite. Then in the summer he will polish it smooth and lustrous." (70) "They were forced to employ several days in order to sharpen their tools, by rubbing them against a rock, or other stones, though the advantage was far from being equal to the labour." (71) "They wear a blanket made from the wool of the mountain sheep; they are very valuable and take years in the making." (72) "A person would suppose that the forming of a large canoe ---- was the work of several years." (73)

Now let us look at the actual facts. Joseph D. McGuire describes in The American Anthropologist (74) how he went about the making of a duplicate of an aboriginal stone axe. "A block of kersanite was selected ---- a much tougher stone than was generally used for the common stone ax or celt found in the eastern portion of the United States. The block was exceedingly rough when first taken in hand, yet it required less than two hours' labour with an ordinary quartzite hammer to produce a comparatively well-finished ax. A good idea of the time necessary to manufacture such an implement is thus afforded. The polishing was done with sand and water rubbed with a smooth piece of quartzite, the time required being included in the time specified."

This result of an actual experiment, undertaken by a man with less experience than the aboriginal stoneworker and using a less tractable material, may be contrasted with the statement of Lafitau who, in speaking of axes and celts, says: "The life of a savage is often insufficient for accomplishing the work, and hence such an implement, however rude and imperfect it may be, is considered a precious heirloom for the children." (75

Frank Cushing was another man who had the good common sense to experiment, rather than to theorize. He says : "I have succeeded, from the time I found a suitable pebble of fine-grained, ringing, cold and fresh quartzite, in making seven finished knives and arrow blades in exactly thirty-eight minutes, and I have often made from obsidian or glass a very small and delicate arrow-point -- the most easily made, by the way -- in less than two minutes." (76)

The time element fallacy is not confined to Indian arts and crafts, of course. We have all seen those most elaborate pieces of needlework which we are assured took 'years to make', and which, in all probability, required a good deal less than a thousand hours

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PART TWO

CHAPTER THREE.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ideas of Royalty
Authority of Chiefs
War
Scalps and Scalping
Burying the Hatchet
Cannibalism

The first settlers of white race in America came, as did the first explorers, from an Old World where social organization was so elaborate, so concrete and so long established that any idea that a people could live under a vastly different system was almost unthinkable.

The type of social organization with which these men were so familiar extended with comparatively little variation from the British Isles, across Europe, down into India, to the domains of the Grand Cham of China, and to those of the Emperor of Japan. In Africa, too, had been found tribes living under vassalge to native kings, in a feudal system which had, at the least, points of resemblance to that of western Europe.

So the discovery that in large parts of North America social organization, in their sense of the term, was almost unknown could be accepted only with great difficulty. Especially was this so at first, when Columbus met the natives of the West Indies, and this for two reasons. First, because these people, Caribs and Arawaks, did indeed live under a system in which the chiefs seemed to exert a good deal of influence and were treated with considerable deference, contrary to the usage farther north along the coast of the mainland, and in most other parts of the continent; and secondly, because Columbus was quite convinced that these people were the legal subjects of the 'Gran Can' of China and, if they were lax in observing the etiquette and procedure he had expected, he would be very ready to put this neglect down to their ignorance of court ceremony, and to minor local variations of custom.

Misconceptions concerning the social organization of the Indians, then, got away to a good start and it was many years before some of the erroneous ideas were discarded, if, indeed, they ever were; for there are a number of still-existing popular fallacies which may be traced back to the days of Columbus. (1)

IDEAS OF ROYALTY

The Fallacy. The Indians had 'Kings and Queens' just as we do.

The Fact. Nothing resembling the feudal system of the Old World was known to the Indians.

Examples and Comment. Columbus, and dozens of others after him, held it as evident that the spokesman of any group of Indians must be in authority. English explorers often spoke of such men as 'lords' or 'kings', and it was assumed that these 'kings' would, in their turn, be subject to the 'emperor' of the larger district, the overlord of several nations. Thus Strachey, in 1612: "The forme of their common wealth, by what hath already bene declared, you maye well gather to be a monarcall government, where one as emperor ruleth over many kings." (2) On another occasion we hear of the "Emperor of Canada" in a message 'sent from Pennsylvania'.(3)

In fact, the notion that the Indian tribes corresponded to our 'nations' persisted so long and so firmly in popular belief that it has received semi-official recognition, and we still speak of the Five (later Six) Nations.

There were many who soon realized that the title of 'king' was somewhat too lofty a dignity for these native leaders, among these being Captain John Smith, ever noted for his perspicacity. In his Description of Virginia (1607) he says "but this word Weroance, which we call and conster for a King, is a common word whereby they call all Commanders." (4)

Lescarbot, too, suggests on several occasions that 'chief' would be a better designation than 'king' (5) as does Loskiel nearly two hundred years later, in 1794 (6). Today, of course, anybody who gives the matter a moment's thought sees that such titles as 'king', 'queen', and 'princess' are not what one would use by preference, though every newspaper photographer who submits a picture of an Indian girl for publication refers to her as 'princess'. (See Fig. 4,7) Dr. Clyde Fisher, Curator-in-Chief of the Hayden Planetarium of the American Museum of Natural History in New York is married to an Indian. "She is sometimes known as Princess Te Ata, and she lists herself thus in the telephone directory; she says that 'almost all lady Indian entertainers adopt the title, much as prizefighters call themselves Ki~~n~~d'." (7)

Probably most of the earlier writers were well aware that these royal titles were not precisely accurate. In The Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699, some effort is made to straighten things out by means of a sort of glossary, as follows: "For the better understanding of some Indian Words, which are necessarily used in the following Narrative, the Reader is desired to take Notice --- A Sachem is a King, Prince, or Chief of an ancient Family, over whom he is absolute Monarch. A Squaw Sachem is a Princess of

Queen." (8) Apparently the author had not realized that 'squaw sachem' is merely what we might call 'pigeon Indian' and that both the words and the meanings attributed to them are wrong, and the poor 'Reader' is plunged deeper into the morass than ever.

The idea that there was a complete feudal system supporting these monarchs was often lurking in the background even when it was not openly expressed. Josselyn in his Account of Two Voyages to America (ca. 1663) refers to the three "kingdoms or Sagamorships of the Massachusetts" and informs us that "under them were seven Dukedoms or petti-Sagamorships." (9)

It is well known that Pocahontas was regarded as a 'king's daughter' and was so presented at the court of King James I in the summer of 1616. His Majesty took her 'royal blood' so seriously that he resented her calling Captain John Smith 'father' as this seemed to imply that he (Smith) must, too, be of royal blood; in fact that he, as 'father' of a princess, must himself be a king, and there was room for but one king in England. Again in Jonson's Staple of News she is referred to as 'the great king's daughter of Virginia." (10)

Naturally the early colonists were loath to drop the idea of 'kings', even when they became aware that the title was empty. It was greatly to their advantage to have but one single man to deal with in transfers of land and other such transactions, rather than to have to consult with the tribe as a whole. It satisfied them to have the signature or 'mark' of an individual on a title-deed which they could then present as evidence of their 'legal' right to the property they had secured, and they were not specially interested in the matter of this individual's actual right to sign such papers on behalf of his fellows, a right which, in most instances he did not possess. "The fact is that social and political organization was of the lowest kind; the very name of tribe, with implication of a body bound together by social ties and under some central authority, is of very uncertain application." (11)

AUTHORITY OF CHIEFS

The Fallacy. Indian chiefs had complete authority.

The Fact. Indian chiefs had very little authority; they led by advice and example rather than by the exercise of authority.

Examples and Comment. Columbus commented on several occasions on the reverence with which the 'kings' he met were treated. He was struck, too, with their efficient discipline, as when a 'king'"made signs with his hand that all the rest should remain outside, and so they did, with the greatest possible promptitude and reverence." (12) In fact, he says, "most of their orders are given with a sign of the hand, which is understood with surprising quickness." (13)

There are several comments which might be made on these points. In the first place, Indians use hand signals in hunting and are much more accustomed to them than are Europeans. Secondly, when one of their number turns to them after conversing with strange and terrible visitors, supposed to have come from the sky, and suggests a certain course of action, either by signs or verbally, he is quite likely to find them in a psychological condition very receptive to suggestions and quite likely to obey any reasonable order with "promptitude and reverence."

Roberval, too, was impressed with the fact that these people were "wonderful obedient" to the king, (14) and the same kind of remark may be found in book after book; even as late as 1747 we find Colden speaking of "an old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and a dirty shirt, ---- issuing orders with as arbitrary and authority as a Roman Dictator." (15)

Loskiel appears to have been one author to feel a little uneasy about this assumption of absoloute authority. Like many others, he flatly contradicts himself, adhering in one part of his book to the old idea, as when he says: "no Indian, with all his notions of liberty, ever refuses to follow and obey his captain, or chief" (16) and later on when he admits that a chief "dare not venture to command, compel, or punish anyone, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe." (17)

So, too, Colonel Didge, who knew his prairie Indians well. He says that, about 1825, "the head chief was a despot with absoloute power over the life and property of each and every individual of his tribe" (18); but later on he asserts "the peculiarity of the tribal relation prevents any very decided enforcement of what we call discipline." (19)

Even Lescarbot, back in 1606, knew that the chief was not the arbitrary despot others had pictured him as. He compares the 'sagamos' or chief to the 'kings' of the ancient Germans and quotes Tacitus to the effect that the people were guided by example rather than by commandment. (20) Sagard, too, agrees that the "tribe is led by entreaty, advice, and example rather than by commands." (21) and Parkman, speaking of the Iroquois warriors, says that, far from owing obedience to any chief "they waged war on a plan altogether democratic, -- that is, each man fought or not as he saw fit." (22) To come closer to today, Wissler, in 1940, says that "Discipline in the military and political sense was unthinkable to the Indian, even as a means of self-preservation." (23)

So much for the facts of the case, but the students answered 79% in the affirmative to the statement "Indian warriors used to obey their chiefs implicitly.".

WAR

The Fallacy. Indian tribes were always at war among themselves.

The Fact. "Organized warfare was impossible." (24)

Examples and Comment. "War being however the business of their lives, and the first passion of their souls, their very pleasures take their colours from it." So writes Mrs. Brooke in The History of Emily Montague. (25). She is speaking of the vicinity of Quebec in 1766.

Here indeed is a case in which one has to state categorically which Indians are being discussed, and when the incidents referred to took place. It is obvious on the face of it that no tribe or group of Indians can be engaged in perpetual warfare; there must be intervals of peace to allow the people to secure food, to make and mend equipment, to permit the women to care adequately for their children, else the death rate would exceed the birth rate so quickly that the group would promptly become extinct.

Nevertheless, our history books so abound with accounts of excursions, forays, invasions, attacks, stratagems, battles, sieges, ambushes, and victories that one gets the impression that war was the chief business not only of the Indians, but of the whites too. So, too, do our histories of England and of Europe, for that matter, or they did until quite recently. Nowadays historians are beginning to understand that the history of a people is not concerned with the wars of that people to the exclusion of all else.

The frontier, the line of contact between the invading whites and the defending Indians, was, almost from the very beginning, a line of battle. There were intervals of peace, naturally enough; at any given point, there might be a period of several years, of many years, without bloodshed; a "quiet sector" as we should have called it in the last war. At other points, perhaps more vital as centres of distribution or of communication, or as strong points in defense, the conflict might be almost continuous. Such was the Ottawa River in the vicinity of this city, at one period in our history.

Then again, there were certain tribes, such as the Iroquois, who did almost make war a business. They were exceptional in this respect in that they had the advantage of a well-organized society which made a considered and concerted plan of action possible; and secondly, in that, being agriculturists, they had Indian corn available, a portable, nutritious ration which made them independent of game secured while engaged in travelling to or from the scene of conflict, an enormous advantage.

Commenting on this need of securing daily food, Jenness says: "Natives who lived from day to day on the game they secured by hunting, or the fish they captured in the lakes and rivers, could not undertake protracted campaigns, or band together in numbers where fish and game were scarce. Organized warfare was, therefore, impossible. Small parties might occasionally make sudden raids or incursions, individuals might treacherously massacre some families that slept peacefully in their tents, or attack them from ambush as they straggled along a trail; but there could be no massing of troops to wage a campaign, no pitched battles with a few thousand men on each side."(26)

The Prairie Indians, among the noted warriors of the Indians, were pretty much in the situation Jenness describes. They had, however, one advantage, somewhat similar to that of the Iroquois, in their pemmican, another portable and highly nutritious food. With these prairie people, war was a game, but it consisted more in horse-stealing raids than of warfare in our sense of the word. The aim of a war-party was to secure horses, scalps, and guns (in later years); above all, they desired to score 'coups', marks of honour and distinction, with which the score in the war-games was kept.

References to the 'continuous wars' of the Indians are very numerous, and it is not necessary to retail them here at length. They range from sober discussions of the why and wherefore of the wars between the whites and the Indians, and among the various Indian tribes, to the lurid pictures of fiction: "There was a wild and fearful yell, and eleven

Sioux warriors, stark naked, with tomahawks in their hands, rushed into the camp." (27) The more normal situation is shown by Parkman in his Jesuits in North America: "The Dutch [at Fort Orange, now Albany] were on excellent terms with their red neighbors, met them in the forest without the least fear, and sometimes intermarried with them."(28)

SCALPS AND SCALPING

The Fallacy. All Indians scalped their victims.

The Fact. The exact distribution of scalping remains uncertain, but it was restricted to certain times and to quite definite areas.

Examples and Comment. Many authors seem to take it for granted that all Indians scalped the dead and wounded, at all times and in all places, but this was by no means the case. The Handbook of American Indians disposes of the various fallacious beliefs about scalps and scalping so neatly and succinctly that anything but literal quotation would be unjust to the reader. "The numerous popular misconceptions in connection with the scalping practice may be recapitulated in a series of negatives. The custom was not general, and in most regions where found was not even ancient. The trophy did not include any part of the skull or even the whole scalp. The operation was not fatal. The scalp was not always evidence of the killing of an enemy, but was sometimes taken from a victim who was allowed to live. It was not always taken by the same warrior who had killed or wounded the victim. It was not always preserved by the victor. The warrior's honors were not measured by the number of his scalps. The scalp dance was performed, and the scalps carried therein, not by the men, but by the women." (29)

The temptation to follow some of the fascinating bypaths revealed by the extract quoted above is great, but neither time nor space permits, to say nothing of the patience of the reader. I have found several references in literature to scalping in times and places which knew it not, such as Owen's play Pocahontas, Bandelier's Delight Makers (30) and others, and the various fallacies mentioned above could all be illustrated in the same way. There are also a number of references to the fact that both whites and Indians have been known to survive after scalping, which is not in any way remarkable, after all.

Mrs. Jameson in her Sketches introduces a most realistic note when she describes scenes at Manitoulin Island in 1837. She says she had taken scalps more or less for granted and as part of the "sauvagerie around me", but admitted there was "one thing I could never see without a start, and a thrill of horror, -- a scalp of long fair hair." (31) Her feelings will be the more readily appreciated on learning that Mrs. Jameson was herself a blond.

The practice of scalping was by no means confined to the Indians. The whites did their share of it and more. In 1698, Hannah Dustin, "took the scalps with her own hand, and received a bounty for them" (32) and she was by no means alone. Quite substantial bounties were paid for Indian scalps, and the scalp of an innocent little child brought just as much as that of a man or woman. (33) Here is a

PROCLAMATION

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston this third day of November 1755.

The General Court of this Province have voted that a bounty ---- be granted and allowed ----

For every scalp of a male Indian ---- forty pounds
For every scalp of such female Indian or male Indian child
under twelve ---- twenty pounds.

In the House of Representatives, June 10, 1756

For every Indian enemy that they shall kill and produce the scalp to the Government and Council in evidence, the sum of three hundred pounds. (34)

The sudden jump from forty to three hundred pounds in seven months' time seems to argue that a stronger inducement was needed; a settler could live comfortably enough on three hundred pounds a year, for fifteen hundred dollars had much more purchasing power then than it has today.

As the frontier moved westwards, so did the practice of scalping, and it many cases it is difficult to determine whether the whites or the Indians were the first to introduce the custom. Several detailed studies have been made of the subject, such as that of Friederici (35) but there are many points still unsettled. It does seem certain that the Iroquois practiced scalping , and it may have spread later to the central Coastal Algonquians, possibly at just about the time of European settlement. (36) It is definitely determined that the custom was by no means universal.

BURYING THE HATCHET

The Fallacy. The Indians used to bury a hatchet when they made peace.

The Fact. To 'bury the hatchet' was merely a figure of speech,

Examples and Comment. The first instance I have encountered is in Dièreville, who, in 1708, wrote: "When a war is ended they bury the Hatchet, in the deepest hole that can dig, in order that it may not be found again; they wish thus to show, & the way is novel, that peace is so sweet & so precious, that no one should ever disturb it." (37)

As is well known, oratory was an art much admired by the Indians of the Huron-Iroquois stock. Their speech, on ceremonial occasions, was adorned with similes and metaphors of great variety and ingenuity, which struck those European listeners who could understand the language very forcibly. Today we realize that the use of these ornate forms of speech was due, not so much to the Indians' poetic soul, as to the relative lack of abstract terms in his language. Indian languages, as we shall see later, are very rich in concrete words, but less so in words which express abstractions, and the use of roundabout ways of conveying such ideas became necessary.

An example of this may be found in part of a speech by a chief recorded by Carver in his Travels (the fact that the authenticity of these Travels is open to doubt does not affect their value in this instance): "Open the blue sky of peace, and cause the bloody hatchet to be buried deep under the roots of the great tree of peace." (38) There are many other references to a symbolical 'tree of peace', as where Hiawatha is made to say: "Listen, my Brothers, let the tribes of the Real Men bury their warlike weapons deep beneath the tallest pine tree." (39) Anybody who has tried to dig a hole deep beneath a tall pine tree will realize that the expression is purely rhetorical.

That this is really the case will be more fully shown when we read the statement of the Reverend Mr. Peter Jones, Himself an Indian, in his History of the Ojibway Indians. Under the heading "Burying the Tomahawk" he says: "This is a figurative speech" and proceeds to explain the meaning of it, with which we are already familiar. (40)

It is not impossible, of course, that on some occasion a tomahawk was actually buried, symbolically, as a concession to some literal-minded military gentleman, who would not be content till the actual physical deed was performed.

Longfellow refers frequently to the 'custom':

> Buried was the bloody hatchet,
> Buried was the dreadful war-club,
> Buried were all warlike weapons
> And the war-cry was forgotten, (41)

Loskiel (42) and Brownell (43) evidently both took the concept literally. But not so another author, Forsyth, whose comment I have at second hand only, without a reference. He doubts the literalness of the ceremony for a reason not yet advanced, and which, perhaps, we should not take too seriously. He says he "never heard of peace having been made between two nations of Indians (when war had properly commenced), ---- for when war once commenced, it always led to the final extermination of one or the other of the parties."

CANNIBALISM

The Fallacy. The Indians were at one time cannibals.

The Fact. Captives were sometimes partially eaten ceremonially, but not as a food.

Examples and Comment. Here again we have Columbus for our first authority, and he was on perfectly safe ground, for he undoubtedly did meet natives in the West Indies who ate the flesh of men in preference to many other foods.

We must, at the outset, decide just what is to be considered as cannibalism and what is not. There are three degrees, or types, of this practice: (1) Cannibalism as a result of starvation; (2) Ritual cannibalism; and (3) True cannibalism, in which the flesh of human beings is eaten as a food by preference, even when other food is available. There are numerous records of cannibalism as a result of starvation in the annals of all peoples, and we are not concerned with that subject here. The second type, or ritual cannibalism, is what is frequently referred to in books in which the practice is charged against the American Indians, and there is no doubt that it was practised among the Iroquois and some other tribes. Some authorities even go so far as to accuse the Iroquois of deliberate cannibalism as an acquired taste, but these people always insist that it was purely ceremonial. (44)

There is no doubt that the Caribs were cannibals in the sense we are considering here, and it will be remembered that Defoe made Crusoe fear that his Man Friday would attempt to eat him, and he takes precautions accordingly. The practice seems to have been common in the northern parts of South America, incidentally, and Keymis, writing of Brazil in 1596, speaks of the Ipaios Indians who "are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them alive peacemeale. ---- These Indians, because they eat them whom they kill, use no poyson" (45) which seems a wise precaution.

Josselyn may have had his tongue in his cheek when he said that he had "read in Relations of the Indians among the Spaniards that they would not eat a Spaniard till they had kept him two or three days to wax tender".(46) and we may be sure that Smollett did not expect to be taken *au pied de la lettre* when, in describing the tortures of Ensign Murphy he says "the warriors and matrons had made a hearty meal upon the muscular flesh, which they had pared from the victim."(47)

The existence of ritual cannibalism is undoubted, but surely there must be some exaggeration in the statement which tells us that "In war-time, the northern tribesmen were accustomed to 'subsist on the enemy' in a literal way. Denonville, Governor of Canada, having vanquished the Senecas in 1687, was horrified at seeing twenty-five of the latter, who had been killed in battle, quartered, boiled and devoured by his Ottawa allies; and six years later, Major Peter Schuyler, the New York Commander, was not pleased to find a Frenchman's hand in the soup served him in the camp of his Iroquois soldiers." (48)

Dr. Clark Wissler says that in general the Indians were not cannibals, "but in some cases captives were eaten ceremonially" (49) and that seems to sum up the situation in respect to a fallacy which tends in recent years to vanish.

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PART TWO

CHAPTER FOUR

INDIAN CHARACTER

Cruelty
Treachery
Intelligence
Stolidity and Taciturnity
Laziness and Dirtiness

Attributing specific personal charcateristics to whole nations seems to be an inborn habit of mankind. We say the Germans are methodical, the Russians are melancholy, the French are mercurial, the Italians musical, the Scotch parsimonious, the American provincial, the Englishman reserved, and so on. Actually, of course, we know that these things are not so, or at the most are true of certain individuals only and not to every member of the nation spoken of. There are many Germans who are not methodical and many Frenchmen who are. There are thousands of Italians to whom music means but little, while many Englishmen are excellent musicians.

Dr. Earnest A. Hooton, perhaps the leading physical anthropologist of the United States, says that scientists have not yet found any relationship between race and mental capacity; that while it is conceivable that races may differ in psychological characteristics, "a precise scientific determination of such differences has not yet been achieved"; that within a race there is "great individual variation in physical features and mental capacity, but no close correlation between physique and mentality has been scientifically demonstrated"; and that "while there may be specific racial abilities and disabilities, these have not yet been demonstrated. There are no racial monopolies either of human virtues or of vices." (1)

Thus when we hear the North American Indian characterized as cruel and treacherous, we are at least sufficiently on our guard to inquire into the matter before accepting the statement at its face value. So great is the variation from individual to individual, that it is not possible simply to slap a label on an Indian, or any other man, and say that, because he belongs to such and such a race, he must necessarily possess such and such characteristics. There is no doubt at all that there are individual Indians who are methodical, others who are melancholy, others mercurial, some musical, some parsimonious, some reserved, and some, perhaps, who are provincial. It is equally probable that some are cruel and some are treacherous; but these qualities are by no means monopolized by Indians, as they themselves had good reason to know soon after their first encounters with the invading white man.

The first explorers, especially Columbus, were much impressed with the gentle disposition of the Indians they met. The Admiral wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella: "Your Highnesses may believe that there is no better nor gentler people in the world. ---- A better race there cannot be." (2) Cartier, too, refers to "the kindness and gentleness of them"(3) and we are reassured as to their honesty in Hakluyt (4) where we are told that the king's brother "was very just of his promise" and that whenever he was given merchandize he invariably paid for it on the day agreed upon. This was in 1584.

Lescarbot was well impressed with the people of Nova Scotia and admires the savages who "though naked are not void of those virtues which are found in civilized men" and proceeds to discuss their fortitude and other quite admirable qualities.(5)

Another line of evidence is to be found in the "Captivities", that fascinating branch of American literature which relates the sufferings of white people taken prisoner by the Indians in the course of warfare. Many of these were captured when still children, or even infants, and were brought up as Indians in every respect, with no knowledge of their mother tongue, or their own civilization. These children were treated as the Indians' own children and the foster parents soon grew to love them as dearly as their own parents had done.

On one occasion, perhaps on several, one of the stipulations in a treaty of peace between the victorious whites and the defeated Indians was that all captive whites should be returned. The Indians, we are told, "delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance, shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. ---- Nay, they did not stop here, but when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt." (6) Later, the old account continues, some of the Indians "were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance."

Crevecoeur, author of the Letters of an American Farmer, relates much the same type of incident, about 1782. "Those who experience the savage life in childhood," he says, "are never willing to return to civilization." He says that the same thing applies to adults and tells of a specific case of two Europeans who were held captive for several years and were then offered their liberty but preferred to remain because of "the most perfect freedom, the ease of living, the absence of those cares and solicitudes which so often prevail with us." (7)

Dr. Johnson was not impressed! Johnson: "So there are men who have preferred living among savages. Now what a wretch must he be, who is content with such conversation as can be had among savages. You may remember an officer at Fort Augustus, who had served in America, told us of a woman whom they were obliged to bind, in order to get her back from savage life." Boswell: "She must have been an animal, a beast." Johnson: "Sir, she was a speaking cat."

It begins to appear, then, that the Indians had at least some desirable characteristics, and that the picture usually painted of them is a little too black. No effort is being made to disclaim all undesirable qualities, and to present the Indians as paragons of all the virtues. It is contended rather that the Indian is no better, but surely no worse, than any other people; that he was cruel when he was cruelly treated; that he waged war according to his own lights, with the definite intention of winning if he could, and without the advantages or disadvantages of the code of 'fair play and sportsmanship' which governed the conduct of some of the whites.

CRUELTY

The Fallacy. The Indians were notoriously cruel.

The Fact. Indians were no more, and no less, cruel than other peoples.

Examples and Comment. We, the white race, first encountered the North American Indians at a period in our progress towards civilization when cruelty was the rule rather than the exception. From 1493 to about 1750, the tortures and torments we inflicted upon the Indians were far greater, far more inhuman, and far less excusable than were the tortures they inflicted upon us. The record of Spanish iniquities in the West Indies, in Mexico, in Central America, in Peru, is quite incredible. It is inconceivable.

It was so notorious that Davenant wrote a play under the title The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru. He knew what the public wanted to see when they bought their tickets. The stage directions are illuminating: "Two Spaniards are discovered sitting in their cloaks ---- the one turning a spit while the other is basting an Indian Prince which is roasting at an artificial fire;" such scenes were presented to the audience as fair samples of 'local colour'.

The Inquisition allowed torture; the laws of most countries in Western Europe allowed torture, not only as a part of the punishment of the guilty, but also as a legal means of extracting evidence from a witness. In warfare, cruelty of the most hideaous kind was expected and accepted. "In Ireland the corpses of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, men, women, and children, strewed the threshholds of their habitations, and the most devilish cruelties and barbarities were perpetrated. Following the death of the King, Cromwell ravaged Ireland and at one place a thousand of the inhabitants who fled to the sanctuary of a church were massacred. As Cromwell put it: 'Their heads were knocked in'."(8)

That was the way things went in Western Europe, whence came the people who were to settle the New World. "We should remember that, notwithstanding the sterling character of the colonists, they tortured their own kind by fire and sword, chopped criminals to pieces and scattered them to the four winds; bloody and violent deaths were familiar to them. They even burned to death people suspected of witchcraft. In this respect the Indians and the whites were about on the same level." (9)

Shakespeare, in The Winter's Tale, makes use of an account of the tortures inflicted on an Indian who "was smeared with brimstone, fired, restored to health, anointed with honey, chained to a tree 'where mosquitoes flocked about him like moats in the sun and did pitifully sting him' - these mosquitoes being like wasps - 'than which death had been better as he said'." (10)

That the Indians were cruel, that they tortured their unfortunate prisoners and burned them at the stake after inhuman torments, there is no doubt; (11) that is, certain tribes of Indians did so, in the course of protracted and sanguinary wars for their very existence. Even the little children seem to have had a streak of cruelty in them, and Fanny Kelly in her 'Captivity' tells of Indian children torturing small birds, turtles or any little animals that have the misfortune to fall into their hands. (12) Such actions are characteristic of savage people in many parts of the world; they are certainly not confined to Indians, and all children have much the same instincts, unless they have been specially taught to be kind to animals.

There is no lack of references to the cruelty of the Indians; the adjective cruel seems to be used just as often as naked is. Every author, whether of books of fiction or of factual material, takes the cruelty for granted. Some insist, apparently not without reason, that the women were even more vindictive than the men. Parkman says this was the 'natural effect' of excessive and arduous labour which left 'shrivelled hags, hideous and despised, who, in vindictiveness, ferocity, and cruelty, far exceeded the men."(13)

Kipling makes use of the same idea in The Female of The Species:

"When the early Jesuit fathers preached to Hurons and Choctaws,
They prayed to be delivered from the vengeance of the squaws.

'Twas the women, not the warriors, turned those stark enthusiasts pale.
For the female of the species is more deadly than the male."

TREACHERY

The Fallacy. The Indians were treacherous.

The Fact. Surprise tactics formed an important part of their war strategy, but such strategy is not 'treachery'.

Examples and Comment. 'Treacherous' is an adjective which was applied to the Indians almost as often as 'cruel' and 'naked'. As a matter of fact, the accusation is quite unjust. To revise the old French saying "Cet animal est très méchant, quand on l'attaque il se défend" is to express the situation fairly enough. The early settlers were accustomed to European military manoeuvres, and were considerably annoyed by the Indians' steadfast refusal to come out into the open and fight, in the way it used to be done 'in the Old Country'.' The author of The Representation of New Netherland complains of them that "they are not straightforward as soldiers, but perfidious, accomplishing all their enterprises by treachery, using many stratagems, and usually ordering all their plans, involving any danger, by night." (13) To the unbiassed observer, this looks like a good and wise idea, rather than an example of 'treachery', which, according to the dictionary, implies, fundamentally, a breach of faith.

Brownell (14) in talking of the Indians' way of making war says that it was a system of stratagem and surprise, and points out that greater honour was paid to a chief who destroyed his enemies by taking them at a disadvantage than to him who exposed himself to the greatest personal danger. The soldiers, the pioneers, the settlers, who fought against the Indians were always plotting to take these people at a disadvantage, so that they might destroy them, and we pay great honour to one of our 'chiefs' who succeeds in pulling off a clever coup, and we do not accuse him of 'treachery' no matter how deceitful the stratagem he employs. And there have been some foul ones, as is seen in Helen Jackson's A Century of Dishonor. It all seems to be very much a matter of whose ox is gored. William G. Sims, one of the first American novelists to make use of the Indian as a character, sees the situation in much the same light. He does not deny the Indians' use of all the tricks they can think of, but is inclined to place the blame at the door of the white man, of whom he says: "To sum up all in little, our European ancestors were, in many respects, monstrous great rascals." (15)

One of the first French explorers seems to feel that the Indian may be shouldering too much of the opprobrium. After an encounter with some Indians about 1607 he said that he "did judge, better than before, that the Savages were (being lesse civilized) more humane and honester men, than many that beare the name of Christians". (16) He may have got the idea partly from Gilbert who, in 1583, said that he found no natives in the south part of Newfoundland and felt that they had "in all likelihoon abandoned these coasts, the same being so much frequented by Christians; But in the North are savages altogether harmlesse." (17)

There is no doubt that Indians, under the stress of four centuries of conflict with a powerful and relentless invader took advantage of every opportunity that the fates granted them. They were wily and reasonably clever, and not restrained by any humanitarian scruples whatsoever. His sole aim was to defeat the enemy. It was a natural enough intention, and he had no need to be ashamed of it. Indeed, had he behaved otherwise we should have been the first to brand him with cowardice. That accusation, at least he has escaped, for physical fear seemed unknown to him.

There are some people who can see only good in the North American Indian. They feel that, as he was the oppressed, all that he did was legitimate and reasonable. Some go even further, as did Mr. Cato Sells, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the United States, who wrote in a letter dated 19th February, 1918: "The unspoiled Indian heart is beautifully sensitive to all the finer humanities of the most advanced enlightenment." (18) We beg to differ!

INTELLIGENCE

The Fallacy. Indians are less intelligent than white men.
The Fact. There seems to be no difference in intellectual powers between Indians and whites.
Examples and Comment. Columbus thought the Indians were intelligent, "very intelligent" in fact (19) and felt that they would make good servants for this reason (20). John Cabot, too, in 1497, found the people covered with beasts' skins, "yet not without the use of reason". (21) But from that time onwards, opinion as to the Indian's intellectual endowments seems to have been pretty evenly divided. It must have been a knotty problem, for some authors actually oppose their own opinions not very long after having expressed them.

Take Fanny Kelly, for example. She asserts that the Indians value dogs more highly than do any people in the civilized world and she explains the fact thus: "The Indian has more time to devote to his company, and his untutored mind more nearly assimilates to the nature of his faithful servant." (22) Then, less than twenty pages on, she says proudly: "I have found them apt pupils, willing to learn, and they learned easily and rapidly. Their memory is very retentive - unusually good." (23)

Montaigne said "they are nothing behind us in clearness of natural understanding" (24), but Mark Twain, many years later, failed to agree. "In the matter of intellect", he says, the difference between a Cooper Indian and the Indian that stands in front of the cigar shop is not spacious."(25) He might protest that he is speaking only of the 'Fenimore Cooper Indians' and that he is well aware that actual Indians are by no means dull-witted; in rebuttal it must be pointed out that though Mark Twain had seen many more Indians than had Montaigne, neither of these gentlemen had much more than their personal opinions to back up their statements with.

Here is something a little more concrete: "The reasoning of the Indian and his ideation ---- have often been shown to be excellent. ---- An Indian child reared under the care of whites, educated in the schools of civilization,---- is habitually much like a white child trained in a similar degree under similar conditions." (26)

'Intelligence tests' of one sort and another have been applied to many native races, including Indians of various tribes, and the general conclusion arrived at is that there is very little difference in the mental ability of the peoples of the world. (27)

Judging by the references to the subject culled from literature, it would appear that those authors whose sympathies with the Indians are few are those most likely to deny him human intelligence. Dodge, for instance, who spent most of a very active military career in fighting Indians, and who knew them well, never really grew to love them, and he declares that their "reasoning facilities [are] little superior to instinct, -- the ordinary mental capacity of the Indian may be estimated at zero." (28) If it is really as bad as all that, the choice of the word 'facilities' would appear to have been unfortunate.

Turning for a moment from the northern continent, we encounter a matter which once engaged Rousseau's attention. "It would be shocking," he says, "to be obliged to commend, as a beneficient being, whoever he was that first suggested to the Oronoco Indians the use of those boards which they bind on the temples of their children, and which secure to them the enjoyment of some part at least of their natural imbecility and happiness" (29)

STOLIDITY AND TACITURNITY

The Fallacy. The Indian was habitually stolid and taciturn.

The Fact. This was a conventional assumption of dignity and 'good manners', and not an everyday mental attitude.

Examples and Comment. It is not easy for one brought up in a certain code of etiquette to appreciate the customs of people whose code is an entirely different one. Among the Indians, especially the Algonkians and the Huron-Iroquois with whom the first settlers came in contact, there was a very definite code of 'manners'. Naturally this code was adhered to more closely on important occasions than on trivial ones. If a visitor entered an Indian house informally, greetings would be exchanged at once, but if the caller had an important mission, more especially if this caller were of a different tribe, or a white man, there would be an unbroken silence for some little time after the visitor was seated.

When an important delegation was received, only the older and wiser men would speak, and that slowly and without any interruptions. Haste was a mark of ill-breeding, especially during important deliberations or on cerelonial occasions. (30)

The reserved Indian was playing a part; he was living up to the social code he had been taught. It was considered ill-bred to show emotion, just as it is among some classes of Englishmen today. In actual fact, they were as sociable as any other people, dearly loved a joke, and were not slow in making them on any occasion that allowed levity. William Simms was aware of this, and disagrees with the general impression that all an Indian can be persuaded to say is "Ugh!" "In his own habitation ---- unrestrained by the presence of superiors, he is sometimes even a jester -- delights in a joke, practical or otherwise, and he is not scrupulous about its niceness or propriety. ---- Of course all these habits are restrained by circumstances. He does not chatter when he fights or hunts, and when he goes to make a treaty. ---- No assembly of the white man compares, in seeming solemnity at least, with that of the red." (31)

But that is by no means the popular concept. All through literature will be found references to the stolidity, the taciturnity, the imperturbability of the Indian. "Their expression was stern and sombre, seldom or never marked by a smile." (32) "Taking care not to betray on any account whatever their emotions." (33) "As manhood approaches they spontaneously assume that serious character, that studied and stately gravity, of which the example has been set by their elders." (34) "They are a sullen close people and will answer very few questions." (35) Lastly, Washington Irving speaks of their "proud stoicism and habitual taciturnity" even though later, in his Tour of the Prairies, he admits that the Indians are not "the stoics they are represented, taciturn, unbending, without a tear or a smile." (36)

Hubbard, in the first part of his History of New England (1641) has an explanation of their alleged stolidity which is novel. It is due to "their low and mean diet and fare, (being always accustomed to drink water,) not disposing them to any inordinancy in that kind, as used to be said of old, "Sine Baccho et Cere friget Venus;" i.e. ebriety and gluttony produces venery." (37) The translation seems to be almost as weak as the hypothesis.

LAZINESS AND DIRTINESS

The Fallacy. The Indians were lazy and dirty.

The Fact. No more so than any other people with similar codes and standards.

Examples and Comment. "As a rule he will not do the most simple thing for himself. He is essentially lazy." (38) "Aversion to labor is one of the most clearly marked traits of the Indian." (39) "Their lives are ---- idle beyond anything we can conceive. If the Epicurean definition of happiness is just, that it consists in indolence of body, and tranquility of mind, the Indians of both sexes are the happiest people on earht." (40)

The evidence for the prosecution seems strong. At the same time, it seems a little contradictory, for we have been told just as often and just as categorically that the life of an Indian woman is one of perpetual toil. We must assume then that the accusation of laziness applies only to the men, and this idea is reinforced by Loskiel (1794) who says that "the Indians in general, but especially the men, love ease." (41)

If a man is deprived of his normal occupation and is given no substitute for it, and is at the same time provided with enough food to keep him from starving, he, having nothing to occupy himself with, must inevitably appear lazy. It is perhaps significant that the earliest references to the laziness of the Indian I have been able to find date from 1766 and refer to the Indians hanging about Quebec, in which their existence is compared to that of the Epicurean.(42)

This story of the Indian's being lazy did not escape the ears of Peter Kalm, the eminent botanist. He makes two references to the matter, one in the second volume of his work, in which he says that the Indians appreciate the burning glass because they can use it to light a pipe without any trouble "which an indolent Indian is very fond of" (43) and another in the first volume, when he is recording the information he gained in conversation with an old Swede who had settled near Philadelphia many years before: "The old man assured me that the Indians formerly ---- were more industrious and laborious in every branch of business, thah they are now." (44)

It is obvious that the Indian must have bestirred himself sometimes, especially when he had to hunt for his daily food. Carver in 1766(45) and Loskiel in 1794 (46) both admit that when the Indian does "shake off that indolence peculiar to his nature" he becomes "active, persevering, and indefatigable" and Ballantyne mentions the fact that the Indian though "generally very lazy ---- can endure, when requisite, great fatigue and much privation." (47)

It would appear, then, that the Indian, when he has nothing to do, does nothing. Perhaps this is a wiser course of procedure than following the restless urge to be doing 'something' which besets so many of us.

As to the charge of dirtiness -- "filthy in his ideas and speech, and inconceivably dirty in person and manners" (48) there is but little to say, except to point out that dirtiness and cleanliness are relative matters, and that our standard of cleanliness is abnormally high and also comparatively recent. Ours is a standard so late in time and so restricted in distribution that we may well ask if ours is not the abnormal condition and the Indians' the more normal one.

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PART TWO.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDIAN LANGUAGES

The Spoken Languages
The Written Language

One of the marked characteristics of the Indian of fiction is his reluctance to say more than "Ugh!" or "How!". Why these two interjections should have been selected from among all other possibilities is a little difficult to say. There seems to have been a tendency to the use of "Ugh!" in the nineteenth century, while "How!" appears to be a little more modern, but I am not yet in a position to assert this categorically. The whole subject of the representation in literature of the Indian's efforts to speak English deserves fuller attention, and materials are now being accumulated with a view to such a study.

When two groups of people whose languages are mutually unintelligible are brought into more or less intimate contact, there soon grows up between them a jargon composed of words borrowed from the two languages and more or less corrupted. Such is 'pidgin English', the Chinook Jargon of the Pacific coast, and the strange varieties of French spoken in some of her colonies. An excellent opportunity for the study of the growth of such a lingua franca was afforded in the last war, with its 'napoo', 'san fairy Ann', and the magnificent effort 'Bombardier Fritz' (pommes de terre frites).

There is strong evidence that several such jargons sprang up at different times as the process of settlement in America advanced, but little record of them was kept. What fragments do exist are mostly in ephemeral works, apparently being considered unworthy of serious literature, but it may prove still possible to salvage something.

As to the Indian languages themselves, we encounter several interesting fallacies. Some of these are connected with the spoken language, others with the question of writing. Let us deal with the spoken language first.

THE SPOKEN LAGUAGES.

First Fallacy. Indian languages are simple and contain very few words.

The Fact. Indian languages are very complex and their vocabularies are large.

Examples and Comment. There is, or was, a very prevalent notion that Indian languages were little more than a sort of gibbersih, with but a small number of words, so few indeed that the Indian had to use gestures to eke out his poor vocabulary; that it could hardly be considered as human speech, much less a language with rules and order. In actual fact, "the vocabularies are rich and their grammatical structure is systematic and intricate." (1)

It is a commonplace among philologists that the languages of the simpler civilizations are the most complex. As a culture develops, its language tends to simplify itself, a trend which may be appreciated on comparing Sanscrit with its derivative Greek, Greek with Latin, Latin with early French, and that with the Romance elements in English. All along this path simplification has taken place, and the process still continues. Chinese is an excellent example of a language in which simplification has been carried still further.

We need not then be surprised to find that Indian languages, when thoroughly, studied are very complex. Horatio Hale, who knew whereof he spoke, said: "It is not too much to say that a complete grammar of any Iroquois language would be at least as extensive as the best Greek or Sanscrit grammar."(2) That such was the case was suspected as soon as men of learning began to study an Indian tongue, even superficially. In Good News from New England (1623) we are told: "As for the language it is very copious, large and difficult, as yet we cannot attaine to any great measure thereof." (3)

Loskiel, too, noted the same thing and mentions the fact that the Delawares had ten different names for a bear, depending on its age and sex. (4) We are reminded at once of the wealth of such animal names in Anglo-Saxon, only remnants of which are left today, such as 'stag', 'hart', 'hind', 'doe', 'fawn', and so on.

Some twenty years ago I watched an Indian woman cleaning salmon preparatory to smoking and drying it. I asked her if there were special names for the various internal organs of the fish, such as the heart, liver, stomach. "Yes", she answered, "of course there are." "And is the word for a salmon's heart, the same as for the heart of a man or a dog?" "No", she said, "the words are all different."

The vocabularies of the Indian languages, then, are rich, especially in the field of concrete objects. It is in the realm of abstract terms that they show a lack. This fact is known all too well to missionaries, and has always been a great difficulty. It was commented upon by Sagard in 1632 when he stated that the Huron language is "very poor and defective in words for many things, and particularly so as concerns the mysteries of our holy religion." (5)

Coleridge notes the same obstacle in his Biographia

Literaria and says that the "impossibility of finding words for the simplest moral and intellectual processes ---- has proved perhaps the weightiest obstacle to the progress of our most zealous and adroit missionaries." (6)

Mrs. Brooke, usually impartial, if not actually prejudiced in favour of the Indians, feels a tinge of despair as far as their language is concerned. In Emily Montague, speaking of the people of Lorette about 1766, she dismisses the whole problem with "nor is their language reducible to rules." (7)

Second Fallacy. Indian languages are harsh and guttural.
The Fact. This is partially true of some of the languages, but by no means of all of them.
Examples and Comment. On the Lewis and Clark expedition both the leaders kept journals. Clark, who cared but little for the niceties of spelling, mentions one Indian language as a "gurgling kind of language Spoken much thro the throught". (8) Kane in speaking of the Chinooks of Fort Vancouver (now in Oregon) says that he would be glad to give a sample of their language "were it possible to represent by any combination of our alphabet the horrible, harsh, spluttering sounds ---- unguided either by the tongue or lip." (9) Even so late an author as Remington, in 1906, speaks of "a harsh, guttural clicking." (10)

On the other side of the ledger, we are told of "language at once sublime and melodious" by Mrs. Brooke. She admits that "the pronunciation of the men is guttural, but that of the women extremely soft and pleasing." (11) She feels that it is "as well adapted to music as Italian itself." (12)

The reputation for oratory which the Iroquois, especially, gained seems to have led to a certain amount of exaggeration and that, it would seem, well over two hundred years ago. Josselyn, in New England's Rareties, a sort of natural history of the new settlements, said that most of what he had written he believed to be true, but adds frankly that some of the things he has recorded from hearsay only, such as that the"Indians commonly carry on their discussions in perfect hexameter verse, extempore." (13) Perhaps his caution in this case was justified.

The fact of the matter is that some languages do make use of combinations of consonants to which we are not accustomed.. This is especially true in the western part of the continent, and the languages spoken in this area have, indeed, a harsh sound. Other Indian languages are very soft and melodious, such as some of those spoken in California, and in the Mississippi basin. Some of the eastern tongues are very difficult to record in writing because of a marked tendency to slur the final consonants. (14)

Third Fallacy. All Indians spoke much the same language.
The Fact. There are over fifty distinct linguistic groups in Canada and the United States, not counting dialects.
Examples and Comment. Kalm, in 1772, said the Indians "seem to be all of one nation, and speak the same language," and this notion occurs fairly frequently in literature. It is even more common in casual conversation, and visitors to museums often ask questions which imply that the identity of Indian languages is taken for granted. Yet as early as 1586 it was recognized that "the language of every government is different from any other, and the futher they are distant, the greater is the difference." (15)

There is one more point in connection with the spoken language which deserves comment, though it is hardly necessary to elevate it to the rank of a fallacy. This is the point brought out by the author of the Narrative of New Netherlands: "Their language ---- methinks is entirely peculiar. Many of our common people call it an easy language, which is soon learned, but I am of a contrary opinion. ---- For these people have difficult aspirates and many guttural letters, which are formed more in the throat than by the mouth, teeth and lips, to which our people not being accustomes, make a bold stroke at the thing and imagine that they have accomplished something wonderful. ---- Even those who can best of all speak with the savages, and get along well in trade, are nevertheless wholly in the dark when they hear the savages talking among themselves." (16)

One hears frequently today, especially in the West and in the Arctic, of white men who can speak the native tongue 'just like one of them', but I have never yet been able to meet any of these accomplished linguists. Even whites who have been brought up in immediate contact with Indians since early childhood, have played with Indian children, and have maintained close touch with them, are seldom, if ever, able to speak the language perfectly. Of course, captives taken in early childhood and have learned English only in their later years could talk 'like natives', but such cases are presumably non-existent today. Traders and others who have merely picked up the language, usually talk a much simplified version of it, not unlike the English spoken by a Chinese laundryman.

THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

The Fallacy. The Indians were able to write their language.

The Fact. Mnemonic ideographs were used in a restricted area but no true writing was used north of Mexico.

Examples and Comment. "Those painted strips of bark upon your council table, Governor, could be read with ease by every Indian from the Northern Seas to the Gulf of Mexico". So says Kirby in The Golden Dog, or rather, and which is worse, he makes poor Peter Kalm say it. (17)

Ninety-five per cent of the students answering the questionnaire agreed that the Indians "could write in picture language on birch bark." And so they could, -- if one wishes to dignify it by the term 'writing', and if one restricts the Indians to the Algonkians living in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes. (18)

Writers of fiction seem especially prone to insist that the Indians practised writing. Even as late and as accurate an author as Kenneth Roberts says, in Arundel: "He showed me a strip of birch bark with Abenaki writing on it -- though I have heard wise men say Indians have no written language." (19) Here he implies that Abenaki writing would be perceptibly different from that of some other tribe, an implication by no means justified by the facts. These facts are clearly stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica; that is, very simple pictures are sometimes drawn on birch bark to remind a participant in certain ceremonies of the order in which prescribed songs are to be sung and to enable him to recall the subject matter of each song. If these little drawings were shown to another Indian who was not familiar with the songs involved, he would be quite unable to interpret them. One who did know the songs, and their sequence in the ceremonies, would have no difficulty. The situation would be roughly paralleled if an illiterate singer were to note three songs he intended to sing by rough sketches of a loop of beads to indicate The Rosary, an irregular ellipse for The Isle of Capri, and two bells for The Temple Bells; all perfectly clear to him and his accompanist, but to no one else.

Paul Kane (20) about 1859, noted a device which is still used by both Indians and Eskimos. A man, being sent to make some purchases at the store, such as a sack of flour, some beans, needles, thread, and cloth of a certain pattern, will make a sketch of each article and, in the case of a long list, some additional indication to remind him of the quantity wanted, and the person who asked him to make each particular article. This can hardly be considered writing, any more than the song mnemonics can.

The only Indians in the New World who 'wrote', as we understand the word, were the Maya of Yucatan and certain other tribes, such as the Aztecs who lived in the valley of Mexico and these all live far from the area we are discussing now. (21) Indeed, Loskiel said in 1794: "They are not only unable to read and write, but it is very difficult to give them any idea of these accomplishments." (22)

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PART TWO

CHAPTER SIX

MISCELLANEOUS FALLACIES

The Identity of Cultures
Mixed Cultures
Population
Longevity
Personal Names
The Happy Hunting Grounds
Woodcraft
Weather Predictions

Into this last chapter has been gathered a group of fallacies which did not seem to fit quite logically in any of the previous divisions and which, it was felt, were too interesting to leave out entirely. Some of them are, in fact, fundamental, such as the false assumption that 'all Indians are pretty much the same', and the converse fallacy which mixes elements from totally different Indian cultures regardless of their incompatibility. Others are perhaps almost trivial, but have certain amusing aspects which justify their inclusion.

There are many others which have not been discussed at all. Some of these are simple errors of statement, such as might occur in the writings of any prolific weaver of tales. Others are due to misapprehension, such as Bryant's assumption that the Mound Builders must have domesticated the buffalo, otherwise they could not have ploughed their fields, and they must have ploughed their fields because only a large agricultural population would have had the leisure time in which to build mounds! Other fallacies are seldom heard of now, such as the stories of Indian mines and treasure that once abounded,(1) of Indian giants and dwarfs and other mythical beings (2) and even the Mound Builders themselves, once claimed as a totally different race, are now seldom mentioned. (3)

Here are a few others: Indian babies don't cry; Half-breeds share the vices of both races and the virtues of neither. Totem-poles are idols or pagan gods. An Indian never forgives an injury. The Indian name for a white man meant 'pale face'. Indians toe in when they walk. --- and still the list is far from complete.

THE IDENTITY OF CULTURES

The Fallacy. All Indians are much the same.

The Fact. There are seven main cultural divisions and over fifty tribes in Canada alone, and many more in the United

States.

Examples and Comment. Antonio de Ulloa, the first Spanish governor of Louisiana, said "See one Indian and you have seen all." (4) and that is the basis of the fallacy of identity. It is amazingly wide-spread. Again and again we read "the Indians" did so and so, or "the Indians" did not do something else. What Indians? Is the author referring to the Iroquois, or the Nez Percés, or does he suppose that what is true of the Iroquois must be true of all other tribes too? Yes; unfortunately he does; that is exactly the difficulty.

This point has already been discussed to some extent in the section in which the influence of the moving picture on the popular concept of the Indians was considered. The Indians, we discovered, were stock characters which could be used for scenes taken anywhere on the North American continent, except perhaps in the Arctic regions, where another stock figure, the Eskimo, would be exhibited instead.

This is by no means a matter of splitting hairs. To require that members of different cultural groups should be dressed in different clothing, that they should be shown to have different customs, is by no means straining after perfection. One could easily go much further and still be well within the bounds of reason, as ten Kate has done (5) when he complains that Fenimore Cooper does not distinguish sufficiently between the Delawares and the Mohicans, though they were both Algonkian tribes and live close together.

This process of levelling, of grouping all Indians together, is prodeeding rapidly. The adoption of the Dakota costume, of which we have already spoken, by nearly all tribes for ceremonial use, is doing much to hasten it and, as tribal customs and traditions fade from the Indians' memories under the influence of reservation life, they themselves are beginning to accept as a fact the great fallacy that "all Indians were much the same".

Even such reputable works as the Encyclopedia Britannica and the Oxford English Dictionary are not free from this error. It is not at all unusual to find definitions which lump all North American Indians together, such as that for "tomahawk -- the ax of the North American Indians"; or "pale-face -- a name for a white man attributed to the North American Indians" and many others. At the very least, the definition could have been restricted in its application by inserting a limiting 'some', as had indeed been done in defining "sachem -- the supreme head or chief of some American Indian tribes", a definition which saves itself in this respect but slips in another, for a sachem was not of necessity a 'supreme' head. The word still survives, by the way, in the prairies, with the initial 's' amputated and a terminal 'au' added, making 'akimau' which today means the 'head man' or 'boss'; thus the Indian agent is called 'sooni-akimau', or 'money-boss' on many Cree reserves. Another form of the same word is 'sagamore' or 'sachemau'.

To the illustrator, the cartoonist, the newspaper photographer, and all who deal with the Indian more or less professionally in the field of the arts, all Indians are indeed one; they all wear one or more feathers, they all have large hooked noses, they are all addicted to sending up smoke signals (See Fig.9) and they all live in tipis. Recently there has appeared a welcome change in this practice: the Indians of the shouth-west of the United States, the pueblo people, seem to have been able to make their differences from other Indians sufficiently obvious to be recognized and there is in *Good Housekeeping Magazine* a series of drawings by James Swinnerton, devoted to the antics of the "Canyon Kiddies", Indian children of that district. (See Fig.5) It is supected that the recent popularity of this part of the continent as a tourist resort, and the resultant better acquaintance with these Indians is partly responsible for the new situation.

MIXED CULTURES

The Fallacy. Attributing, to an Indian belonging to one cultural group, elements restricted to another group.

The Fact. While some culture elements are common to several or to all culture groups, most are restricted in distribution. Examples and Comment. "And how a great tall Indian a-horseback can carry his war-bonnet at a canter through thick timber without brushing a feather beats me!" (6) The answer, of course, is that he didn't. The war-bonnet was restricted to the prairies, where there was seldom opportunity, and never any need, to ride through thick timber. Kipling assumed that all Indians used the war-bonnet which, as we know, was developed by the Dakota. In the illustration to this particular one of Kipling's stories we are shown Cornplanter and Red Jacket talking to Washington. Both of the Indians are dressed in the conventional 'Indian' costume: Large blankets envelop them from the shoulders to the ground and eagle-feather war-bonnets grace their heads. The text describes them as being in "full war-dress, making the very leaves look silly: feathered war-bonnets, yellow doe-skin leggings, fringed and tasselled, red horse-blankets, and their bridles feathered and shelled and beaded no bounds." And this was Kipling! one of the authors most noted for his amazing accuracy in, and knowledge of, technical details.

But he sins in good company. Cooper, Schiller, Bandelier (himself an anthropologist as well as a novelist), Chateaubriand have all been caught in ethnological errors by ten Kate (7) and there are dozens of other instances.

In the field of illustration, the sins of omission and commission are legion. We have already mentioned the picture in which we were told that red beads in a wampum belt meant war. (See Fig.2) In the same sketch we are shown an Indian with a Dakota war-bonnet who is holding in his hands a wampum belt of the Algonkian culture, while in another corner a half-clad native, with a feather stuck in his head-band is pounding on a drum while he dances in the attitude we have always been asked to believe is an 'Indian war-dance'. The text attributes the 'wampum script' to the 'North American Indian' and implies that 'they' had a vocabulary of 8,000 words which, we are assured, is 'More than the average American uses in a lifetime'. Altogether a strange jumble of error, misapprehension, misinformation and mixed cultures.

Another picture in my collection (See Fig. 8) shows a young Indian, wearing the inevitable feather, sitting in a motor car, with a decorative radiator cap which consists of the top figure which has been lopped off a nearby totem-pole. In the backgroun are two tipis. Now, tipis occur on the prairies, and totem-poles on the Pacific coast, and never the twain could meet. They could not appear in the same scene, any more than we could logically have a Highlander playing the bagpipes in front of the Pyramids.

The mixed culture error can be carried even farther by blending Indian culture elements with those of European civilization, as in the case of the 'little steel hatchet' type of tomahawk. Longfellow falls into this trap now and then, as when he speaks of brass pieces in an Indian gambling game (8) and again:

> Quivers wrought with beads of wampum,
> Filled with arrows silver-headed. (9)

Neither of these metals was used by the Indians north of Mexico, nor was lead, though we are told by Laing that "the head [of a snow-snake] was pointed with lead so that the shaft would run swiftly." (10)

In the field of personal names, too, there are dangers for the unwary, as might well be expected. Longfellow finds the name Winona (or Wenonah) suitable for Hiawatha's mother, It is a Dakota word and means first-born daughter. Now in the poem Hiawatha is an Ojibwa, though in actual fact he was an Onondaga, and presumably his mother was of the same tribe as himself, and would not have a name derived from some other language than her own. It is much as if the author had given a Spanish heroine an old Irish name, -- not impossible, but decidedly improbable.

POPULATION

The Fallacy. The Indians, once very numerous, are now dying out.

The Fact. The Indian population, always scanty, is increasing.

Examples and Comment. It is evident that we have here not one but two fallacies: (a) the Indian population was once large; and (b) the Indians are dying off. Neither statement is true.

Columbus was impressed with the "very many islands peopled with inhabitants without number", (11) and many later writers have made similar remarks. "We found a nation of naked people, of innumerable multitude" (12) is a sentence typical of the early authors, and later we encounter "the Indians of the prairies are almost innumerable".(13)

Columbus, as usual, was quite right. He was a careful observer and nearly all of his statements based on direct personal observation are reliable. The West Indies were indeed thickly populated. It is true that the Spaniards who followed close on Columbus tended to exaggerate the number of the inhabitants, placing it at 1,100,000 where as modern ethnologists suppose it to have been between 200,000 and 300,000.(14) But on the mainland things were very different. Here there were great areas where there were no inhabitants at all, and others which were visited only occasionally by parties of hunters. Population was concentrated in the most desirable localities, naturally enough, and one of the best of these was the sea-coast which afforded an abundant supply of food and easy travel; the shores of the great lakes offered similar attractions, and a few other spots in the interior were desirable for one special reason or another.

The most careful estimates of the numbers of the Indian population were made by Mooney who arrived at this conclusion: "A total population, at the time of the coming of the white man, of nearly 1,150,000, which is believed to be within 10 per cent of the actual number. Of this total 846,000 were within the limits of the United States proper, 220,000 in British America, 72,000 in Alaska, and 10,000 in Greenland." (15)

There have been several suggested explanations of the mistakes in estimating the density of the native population. One obvious cause is the ever-present desire to exaggerate departed glories; another, suggested by Loskiel is that "their numbers have been often over-rated, owing to the different names given to one nation." (16) The earlier generation of writers who were much interested in the mysterious Mound Builders felt that they must have employed "probably the labour of millions" (17) and the argument has been advanced that such a wealth of ancient works must indeed have required a very large population. The answer is that the mounds were not all built at once; indeed it is quite evident that some of them are much more ancient than others, so that a comparatively small constant population could complete the work by degrees.

The second point in the discussion of the aboriginal population is the assumption, almost the conviction, that the Indian is dying out. According to our authors, he has been dying out for a very long time, for the references go back to at least 1708, when Diéreville wrote an account of his travels,originally in verse, though he later rewrote a part of it in prose on the advice of his friends:

> Of all these Tribes, reduced to direct need
> The greater number are already gone,
> Those that remain will not last long, unless
> Protection from above be granted them,
> Yet are these wretched Dwellers in the Woods
> Good Subjects of their August Prince. (18)

In his day, many of the tribes *were* dying out; they were being exterminated in ruthless and brutal wars. Many of them are known today only by their names written in ancient records, leaving no survivors. Even now, tribes are disappearing, and more than one linguist has succeeded in salvaging partial vocabularies and some inkling of the grammar and syntax of an obscure native language from one or two old people who were found to be the last living beings who could speak it.

Washington Irving was convinced that the Indians were fast disappearing and says that it does not surprise him: "it is rather a matter of surprise that so many should survive; for the existence of a savage in these parts [the prairies] seems little better than a prolonged and all-besetting death." (19)

Edna Ferber seem to be inclined to attribute the disappearance of the Indians to their low birth rate. In Cimarron (1938) we read:

> " "They don't have big families, do they? Two or three children. You'd think savages like that -- I mean --"
> Yancy explained. "The Indian is a cold race -- passionless, or almost. I don't know whether it's the food they eat -- their diet -- or the vigorous outdoor life they've lived for centuries, or whether they're naturally a sterile race. Funny. No hair on their faces -- no bears." (20)

As a matter of fact the birth rate in Indian families is large, always has been large, and shows no signs of decrease. (21) It was not until recently however that the death rate came down low enough to allow the population to increase.

Most accurate counts have shown a constant decrease in the Indian population and many authors have made the most of this, as has Quinn, for instance (22) but he stops too soon, as do nearly all the others. The most recent statistics show a definite increase. This is attributable to a number of causes, such as more accurate census-taking (which means no actual increase, of course), better medical care and sanitation, lessening death-rate from warfare and from accidents in hunting and trapping, all of which tend to a widening of the margin between births and deaths. (23) The same thing has been happening in Canada as in the United States, and our Indian population shows a definite gain too. In the United States there were 337,366 Indians in 1937 and 342,497 in 1938. In Canada 112,510 in 1934 and 115,000 or more today.

LONGEVITY

The Fallacy. Indians frequently live to an advanced age.

The Fact. The life span of the Indian is about the same as that of a white man.

Examples and Comment. "And that land is right full of folk for they live commonly 300 years and more for with sickness they die not." (24) That was written in 1511 when people still expected that strange races of men, such as those with their mouths in their chests would be found in the New World. Here is a more recent example, -- in 1940: "Pedro Chino, Cahuilla Indian medicine man, died November 25, at the advanced age of 126 years." (25)

This is one of the most persistent of legends. I have encountered it among the Indians in the interior of British Columbia as well as among the Eskimo, but never with any satisfactory evidence to back it up. It is quite common in literature too. Fenimore Cooper's character Susquesus, or 'Trackless', is carried through three novels which stretch over a period of eighty years, bringing the old Indian to a total of one hundred and six. (26) Charles Brown, in Edgar Huntley, describes 'old Deb', an Indian woman, whose "age some did not scruple to affirm exceeded an hundred years." (27)

In the first period of colonization these accounts of great age were usually based solely on the physical appearance of the Indians; they looked very old, therefore they must be very old. Jean Ribault in 1562 was coasting along 'Florida' and found that "the people there live very long and in great health and strength, so that the aged men go without staves, and are able to goe and runne like the youngest of them, who onely are knowen to be olde by the wrinckles in their face, and decay of sight."(28)

As so often happens, we have an occasional author who contradicts himself, as does Hind on this occasion. First he says "The mortality amongst the children is very great, and the adults seldom attain an advanced age" (29) and later on he claims "They attain to a great age; from reliable data, it was formerly not at all uncommon to meet with a Tete de Boule 100 years old." (30)

Stories of very old men are not at all scarce among many other races besides the Indians. It is not many years since a much heralded Turk visited the United States and was said to have documents to prove he was over a hundred and fifty. Such stories are never well authenticated. That people do live to be a hundred years old is quite certain, but any age greater than that by more than a few years is somewhat dubious (31). The Handbook of American Indians holds that the longevity of the Indian is very much the same as that of a white man in good health. (32) Dr. Clark Wissler says that there are today fewer old people among the Indians than there are among the whites, and adds that what few data there are suggest that in colonial days "old Indians were scarce." (33)

One factor is that an Indian, unless born on a reservation fairly recently, is not likely to know just how old he actually is. As they are apt to explain, they don't remember when they were born! The Reverend Mr. Peter Jones, himself an Indian, tells of an Indian of about fifty who was asked how old he was. "He replied 'I do no know.' 'Are you fifty?' 'A great way beyond that; I think I am more than one hundred.' I heard," continues Mr. Jones, "of a young man of twenty who positively declared that he was one hundred years old." (34)

Margaret MacWhirter found one old Indian in the Gaspè country whose ideas of time were even more vague. Whenever he was asked his age his reply would be "I'm most one hundred; I'm near fifty." (35) She speaks also of a chief who lived to be 110 while his wife died at the age of 111.(36)

Not many explanations have been advanced as to why the Indians should no longer live to lay claim to such great ages, or at any rate not so often. The only one which seems to be popular is that the decline in longevity is due to drinking alcohol. This cause was espoused by an Indian in conversation with LeClercq in, or before, 1691 (37) and is referred to also by Kalm in 1748 (38) and by Warren in 1885 (39). The 'explanation' loses in plausibility when we note that the 'fact' it sets out to explain is not a fact at all, for it is apparent that Indians do not, and did not, live any longer than white men.

PERSONAL NAMES

The Fallacy. Indians often had ridiculous names.

The Fact. Their names may sound strange when translated but were not so to them.

Examples and Comment. In the summer of 1939, while in the northern prairies of Saskatchewan, I was introduced to Mr. Yellow Nose. I shook hands gravely, and carefully avoided looking at his nose, at least until after the lapse of several minutes. Not that I felt it might actually be yellow, but I knew he was waiting to see if I would look at it, and feared I might laugh at him. An Indian hates being laughed at, -- just as a white man does.

Humorous parodies of Indian names are a favorite form of wit among certain groups of writers, and there are many instances of it in literature. Smollett, in Humphry Clinker, uses the device twice in the brief 'Indian' episode. Lishmahago is "dignified with the name or epithet of Occacanastaogarora, which signified nimble as a weasel." Later we are introduced to his bride "the squaw Squinkinacoosta" no translation of which is vouchsafed us as far as I am aware. Mark Twain refers to Young-Man-Afraid-Of-His-Shadow in The American Claimant,(40) and provides an example of a typical misunderstandiing of this kind of name.

Some Indian names are ironical and have to be interptreted in a manner apparently opposite to their superficial meaning. For example, a famous Dakota chief, whose name is usually translated as Young-Man-Afraid-Of-His-Horses really means Young-Man-Whose-Very-Horses-Are-Feared, quite a different thing. So mark Twain's Young-Man-Afraid-Of-His-Shadow is a perfectly plausible Indian name and one which would be borne proudly and in no way ridiculous. (41)

Another example is found in Stumbling Bear, which really means Bear-Bearing-Down (an antagonist). Likewise, a Creek Indian war-title, meaning, Recklessly-Brave has been translated as 'Crazy'. If it had been made 'Berserk' it would have been precise. Stinking-Saddle-Blanket is an Indian name which excites amusement at the least; in reality it implies that the warrior who bore it was so constantly on the war-path that he never had time to change or air his saddle blankt, with the result that it smelt strongly of sweat. It was just as complimentary a name as "Smoking Barresl" would have been for a western desperado.

Paulding, in Kónigsmarke, The Long Finn, one of the earlier Amerrican novels with Indian characters, makes fun of a group of Indians (monarchs, he calls them) "whose names and titles, translated into English, equal those of the most lofty and legitimate kings of the east ---- the Big Buffalo, the Little Duck Legs, the Sharp Faced Bear, the Walking

Shadow, the Rolling Thunder, the Iron Cloud, the Jumping Sturgeon, the Belly Ache, and the Doctor." Many of these are apparently pure inventions, if not all of them, yet they are sufficiently approximate to Ojibwa names to be convincing. A recent cartoon shows an Indian introducing himself to an army officer with these words: "I am Great Chief 'Big-wind Fire Cloud Hawk' and this is my son -- Hurricane Spitfire Bomber." (See Fig. 6). (42)

Unfortunately many Indians today are ashamed of their own names and prefer to use 'white' names, especially in their intercourse with white people. This is unfortunate, but the tendency is by no means new. Josselyn noted it in 1675, and says that the Indians "covet much to be called after our English manner, Robin, Harry, Phillip, and the like". (43) I have noti~~e~~ced the same tendency among the Eskimo. Of a family of five I had with me during the summer of 1935, all had English names: Bobby; Mark, his brother; Lily, his wife; (a most unfortunate choice, this); Jimmy, his son, aged four; and Jennie, his sister. Jennie's real name meant the Runner, but she did not like me to call her by it.

Lescarbot mentions an incident in which an Indian was named"'Judas', in jest, for which he was angry, understanding it was a bad name." (44) Some Indian names are 'bad' from our conventional point of view, and the same is true of the Eskimo, so much so that we can hardly discuss the topic here, especially as it forms no part of the popular concept. Fanny Kelly noticed it: "Some of their names are very odd, and some quite vulgar." (45).

THE HAPPY HUNTING GROUNDS

The Fallacy. The Indians believed they went to the happy hunting grounds after death.

The Fact. The phrase is recent; it is not a translation of an Indian phrase; it does not represent the Indian concept.

Examples and Comment. "There they will see the happy hunting grounds, with the souls of the brave and good living in tents and green meadows, by bright running streams, or hunting the herds of buffalo, and elks, and deer, which have been slain on earth." (46) That is the first use of the phrase 'happy hunting grounds', in 1836, just one hundred and five years ago. It was immediately popular and it is safe to say that it has been used contimuously since.

Previous authors came quite close to the same words, as is shown by the following extract from Metamora: "I think I see our little one borne to the land of the happy, where the fair hunting grounds never know snow or storms." (47 It is my own opinion that this is the actual source of Irving's phrase; all the words he combined when he first coined it are there and in his actual order. He had probably seen the play, for it was first performed on the 15th of December, 1829, and innumerable times after with Edwin Forrest in the title role. It was one of the most famous plays of the period, and Irving, if he professed any interest whatsoever in drama, as indeed he did, would certainly not fail to see it, quite possibly more than once.

The conception that the souls of the dead hunted the animals which had been slain in this life, though not now usually connected with the happy hunting grounds, was clearly stated by Irving. This idea, too, had been anticipated, by Philip Freneau, "the Father of American Poetry",:

> By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews;
> In habit for the chase arrayed,
> The hunter still the deer pursues,
> The hunter and the deer, a shade. (48)

John Hunter, in 1823, had referred to the Indian paradise as "delightful and abundantly supplied with hunting grounds"; and in much earlier times, Denton, in 1670, said: "the other world, which they conceive is Westward, where they shall have great store of Game for Hunting and live easie lives." (49) So the idea was by no means original with Washington Irving, not even the words themselves, but merely their combination into the felicitous phrase 'the happy hunting grounds'.

The idea itself by no means corresponds to the Indian's concept in matters of eschatology. We have already noted, in discussing the division of labour, that hunting was a tedious, dangerous and, not infrequently, fatal occupation. That this toilsome duty should appear again to beset the weary soul in the next life would have been intolerable. Kohl, some time before 1860, was discussing the matter with an Ojibwa "who was describing paradise, and did not at all allude to hunting. "And you will go every day to hunt and kill a countless number of animals?" "Oh, no!" he replied, dryly, "there is no hunting or labour in paradise." (50)

Mrs. Jameson brings out the same point: "the chase is to them a severe toil, not a recreation -- the means of existence, not the means of excitement." (51) This was written in 1837.

As to the actual facts of the Indians' belief on this point, it does not appear that there was any definite opinion to which all Indians subscribed. It was held that the 'country of souls' as Mrs. Brooke puts it (52) or the 'spirit village' as Lescarbot translates the Indian phrase (53) was somewhere in the west, and the way to it was difficult and dangerous. Each Indian had his own ideas. "I have frequently inquired into the ideas and opinions of the Indians in regard to futurity, and always found that they were somewhat different in different individuals." (54)

No matter which Indian was asked, I feel, we may take it for granted that he would hope there would be no need for the toil.of hunting in the 'happy hunting grounds', and his wife would be glad to believe that there would be no heavy carcasses to cut up, nor hides to scrape, nor meat to slice and dry for the winter.

WOODCRAFT

The Fallacy. Indian skill in woodcraft was almost supernatural.

The Fact. White men are as adept in woodcraft as the Indians when accustomed to it from childhood.

Examples and Comment. "I have observed that the Salvages have the sence of seeing so farre beyond any of our Nation, that ---- they have toulde us of a shipp at Sea, which they have seene sooner by one hower, yea, two howers sayle, than any English man that stood by of purpose to look out, their sight is so excellent. ---- In the sense of smelling they have very great perfection ---- they will distinguish between a Spaniard and a Frenchman by the scent of the hand only." (55) This was about 1632.

Tales of marvelous woodcraft, especially in the matter of following an animal or a man by tracks, are common in many parts of the world. The aborigines of Australia, the natives of some parts of South Africa, and the American Indians can all claim honours here. There is no doubt at all that extraordinary feats have been performed, feats far beyond the ability of a city-dweller and possible only to one who has lived for many years in the forests or on the plains.

But in literature, we are given instances of an almost supernatural ability; quite supernatural in a case instanced by Fenimore Cooper, where a wily scout traces the path of a cannon ball through the air, and follows it back to the gun which first launched it on its career! Cooper was quite serious, but it amused Mark Twain very much.(56)

Emerson apparently believes that such abilities are a form of instinct, and that the secret of the Indian's "amazing skill seemed to be that he partook of the nature and fierce instincts of the beasts he slew" (57) The argument is not very clear, for it is certain that the beasts do not share the hunter's skill in woodcraft.

The Handbook of American Indians has but little to say on the subject. It does mention the fact that "in the ordinary Indian with healthy eyes and ears, the sight and hearing are generally very good, but in no way phenomenal." Again: "No instincts not possessed by the whites have developed in the Indian. His proficiency in tracking and concealment, his sense of direction, etc., are accounted for by his special training and practice, and are not found in the Indian youth who has not had such experience. (58)

WEATHER PREDICTION

The Fallacy. Indians are able to predict the severity of the coming winter.

The Fact. Their predictions are no more accurate than are those of country people in general.

Examples and Comment. Every year the newspapers tell us that Chief So-and-so has predicted that there is going to be a hard winter or a mild winter because he has observed the squirrel storing more or less nuts against the cold season, or because the beavers have provided more or less food for their lodges than usual.

Few people, it is felt, take such predictions seriously, but the belief is at least sufficiently firmly-founded to have gained attention year after year. It is mentioned as early as 1766 in Emily Montague and was just the kind of thing that would interest the observant Mrs. Brooke. "The savages assure us, my dear, on the information of the beavers, that we shall have a very mild winter; it seems that these creatures have laid in a less winter stock than usual." (59)

According to O'Reilly, Fifty Years on the Trail (1889) it was not necessary to be an Indian to exercise these prophetic powers. "We went out on all the streams round the creek, and watched the signs and indications for the coming winter. If the weather was going to be severe, the beaver would be seen biting down cotton-wood trees and dragging them to their quarters. If the winter is to be open and mild the beaver do not trouble to prepare their food, but travel from one stream to another in the untroubled pursuit of enjoyment." (60) It must, indeed, be a great relief to the beavers.

"Chief Jerry Blueyes, 75-year-old Cayuga Indian of the Six Nations reserve, predicted a mild winter today. He based his prediction on the scarcity of hickory nuts, slimness of corn, lateness of the southern movement of ducks and geese and the late-season agility of frogs in nearby ponds." That was in the Ottawa Citizen on the 11th of October, 1940. The winter was comparatively mild.

Today accurate weather predictions for five days in advance are possible in suitable circumstances, though still not reliable enough for publication in the newspapers. Long range weather forecasting, though it may some time be possible, will probably not be attained for some years to come. The Indian possessed no more skill in this direction than does the proverbial Cy Perkins who predicts the severity of the coming winter on very similar evidence.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF FALLACIES

	CENTURIES					
	15	16	17	18	19	20
Fallacies originating in the **Fifteenth Century**						
The Indian population was very large	X	X				
Stories of 'monstrous' people	X	X				
The Indians possessed vast treasures	X	X	X			
The Indians were 'naked' savages	X	X	X	X	X	
The Indians were cannibals	X	X	X	X	X	
Medicine men had psychic powers	X	X	X	X	X	
Royal titles used for chiefs	X	X	X	X	X	X
War was their constant occupation	X	X	X	X	X	X
The Chiefs had absolute authority	X	X	X	X	X	X
All hard work was performed by women	X	X	X	X	X	X
Feathers prominent in costume	X	X	X	X	X	X
Indians skilled in medicine	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sixteenth Century						
Indians had a legend of the Flood		X		X	X	
Nomadism ascribed to Indians		X		X	X	
Indians withstand cold easily		X	X		X	
Intelligence said to be very low		X	X	X	X	
Indians accused of thievishness		X	X	X	X	
Indians said to be 'treacherous'		X	X	X	X	X
Cruelty of Indians stressed		X	X	X	X	X
Dirtiness of Indians stressed		X	X	X	X	X
Indians have hooked noses		X			X	X
Childbirth abnormally easy		X	X			X
Indians were skilful archers		X	X	X	X	X
Fire made with two sticks		X	X	X	X	X
Indians lived to extreme age		X	X	X	X	X
Fallacies about scalping customs		X	X	X	X	X
Seventeenth Century						
Indian children are born white			X	X	X	
Use of the term 'Red' Indians			X	X	X	X
Indians never forget an injury			X	X	X	X
Abnormal skill in woodcraft			X	X	X	X

	CENTURIES					
Fallacies originating in the	15	16	17	18	19	20
Eighteenth Century						
Laziness an Indian characteristic				X	X	
All Indians speak the same language				X	X	
The language is a mere gibberish				X	X	X
Indian names are ridiculed				X	X	X
'Bury the hatchet' fallacy				X	X	X
'Pipe of Peace' fallacy				X	X	X
All Indians are much the same				X	X	X
Indian population is decreasing				X	X	X
Weather prediction by Indians				X	X	X
Indians toe-in when they walk				X	X	X
Stone tools took years to make				X	X	X
Nineteenth Century						
The 'mixed culture' fallacy					X	X
The Mound Builders were not Indians					X	X
The 'happy hunting grounds'					X	X
Use of the term 'pale-face'					X	X
Writing was used by the Indians					X	X
A tomahawk was a little steel hatchet					X	X
Arrowhead making is a lost art					X	X
Fallacies concerning hafting					X	X
Tempering copper					X	X
Twentieth Century						
The Norsemen penetrated to the prairies						X

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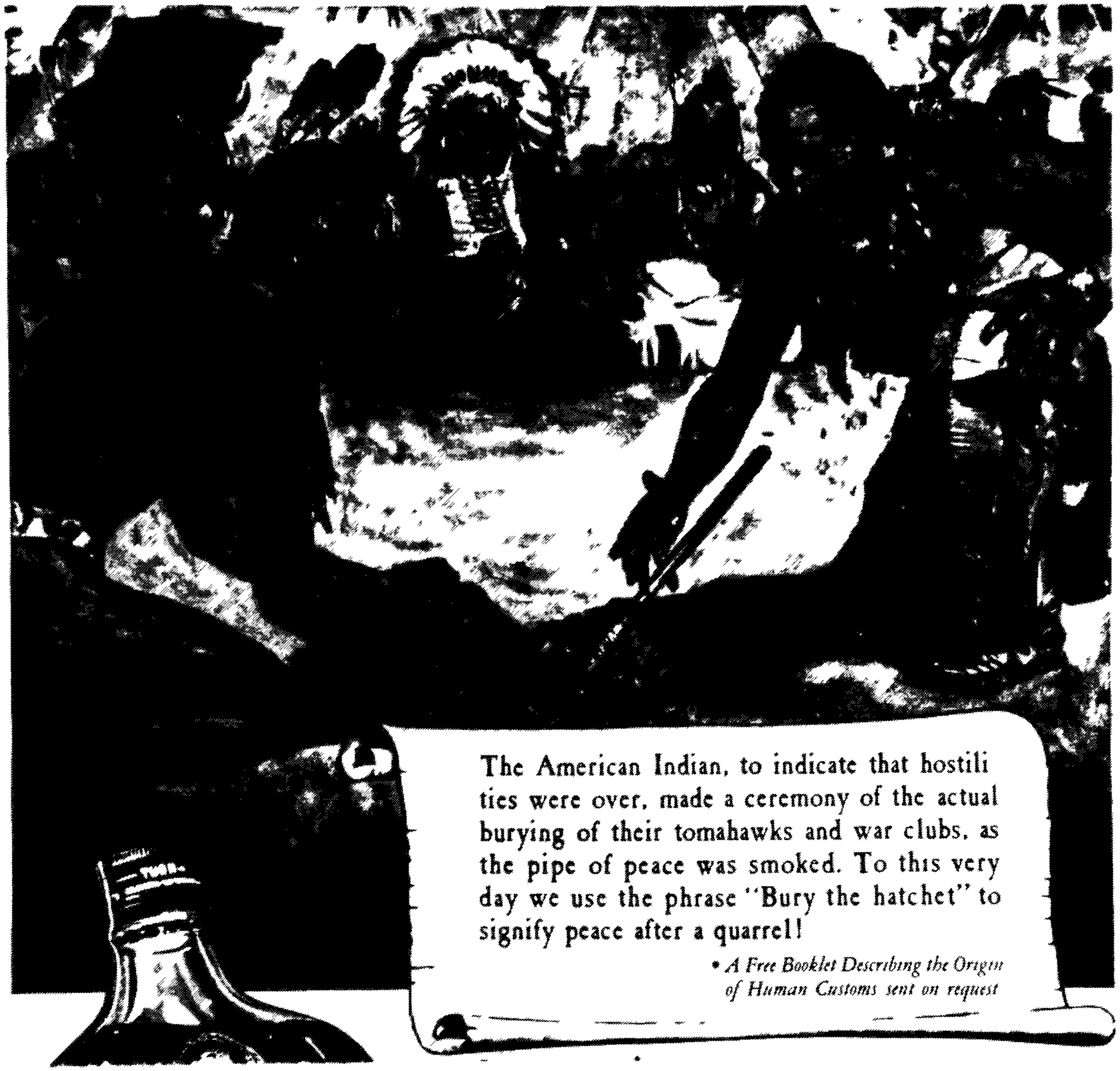
FIGURE 1. 'Bury the Hatchet'

The original illustration is in colours which do no reproduce well by the photostat method. See pp. 186-188

FIGURE 2. 'Wampum'

There are at least eight points on which this illustration could be criticised. See pp.154-158

Do you know **WHY WE SAY "BURY THE HATCHET"?**



The American Indian, to indicate that hostilities were over, made a ceremony of the actual burying of their tomahawks and war clubs, as the pipe of peace was smoked. To this very day we use the phrase "Bury the hatchet" to signify peace after a quarrel!

• *A Free Booklet Describing the Origin of Human Customs sent on request*

No 20 of a series
FACTS
BEHIND OUR
HUMAN CUSTOMS

Fig. 1

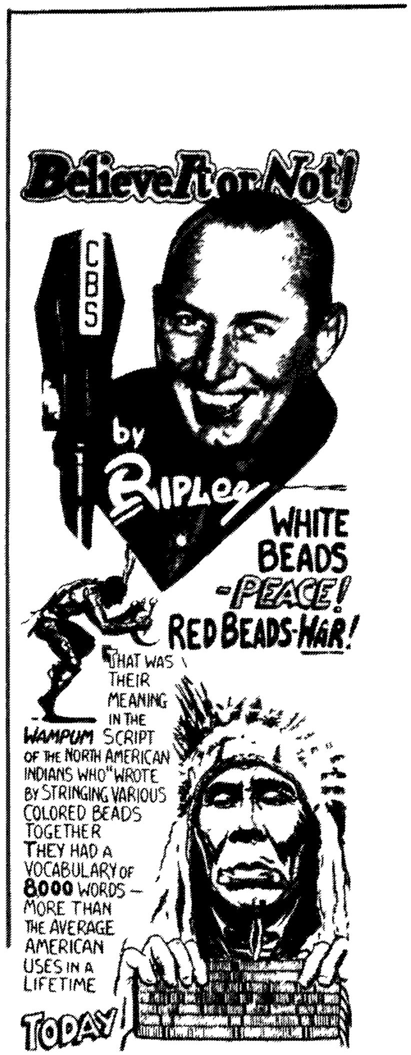
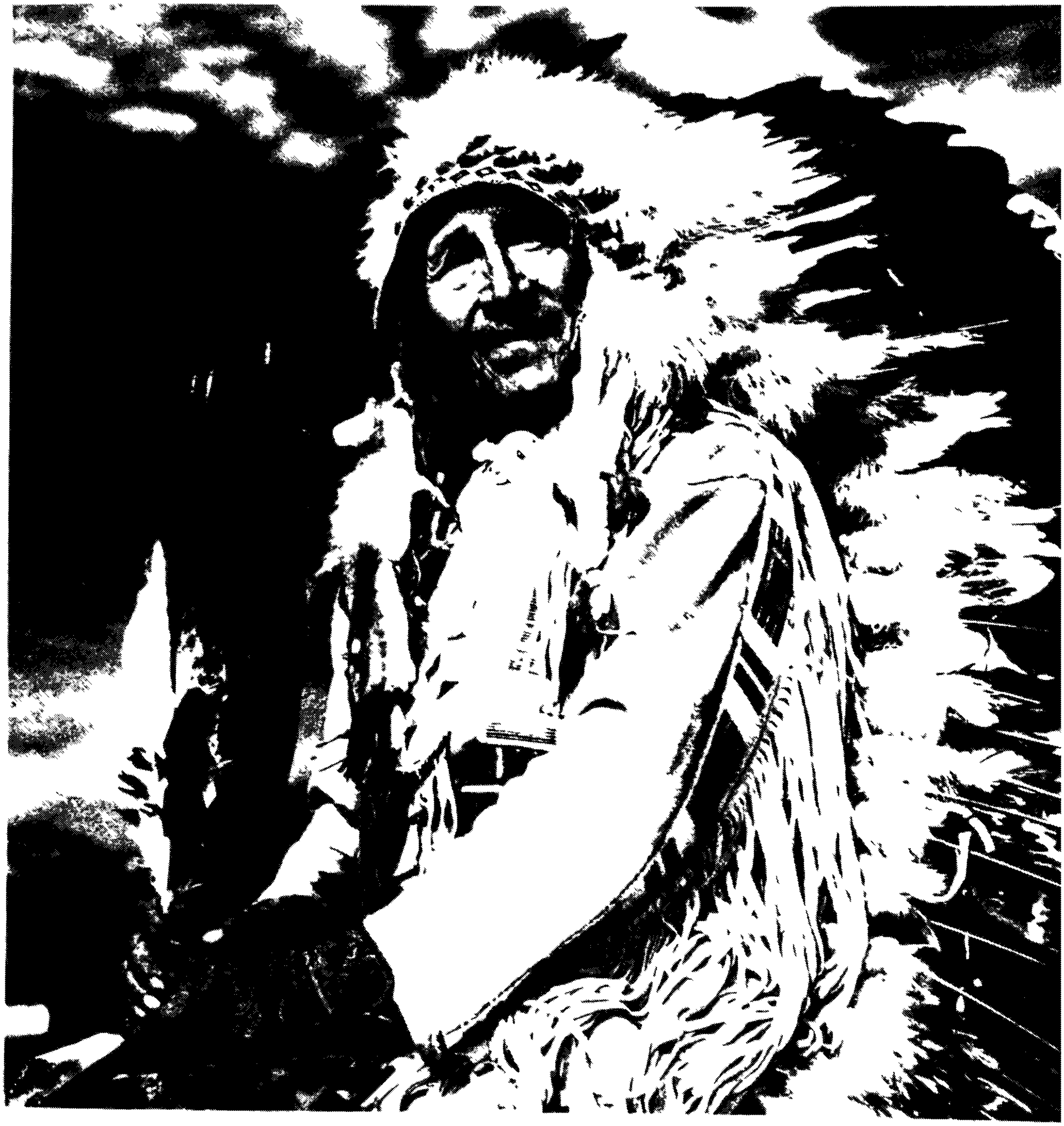

Believe It or Not!
CBS
by Ripley
WHITE BEADS -PEACE! RED BEADS-WAR!
THAT WAS THEIR MEANING IN THE WAMPUM SCRIPT OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS WHO "WROTE" BY STRINGING VARIOUS COLORED BEADS TOGETHER
THEY HAD A VOCABULARY OF 8,000 WORDS — MORE THAN THE AVERAGE AMERICAN USES IN A LIFETIME
TODAY!

Fig. 2

FIGURE 3.

The conventional Indian costume of today, originally used by the Dakota. See pp. 61, 230



BEARSPAW FAMILY Old Chief David Bearspaw of the Stoney Indians turns his kindly weatherbeaten face towards the camer

Fig. 3

FIGURE 4. "Princess" Pocahontas.

A prize anachronism. Here the conventional Dakota costume is transferred far away in space and far back in time. See pp.61, 176, 230.

Princess Pocahontas

The Red Indian Beauty who captivated London

Written and Illustrated by Fortunino Matania, R.I.

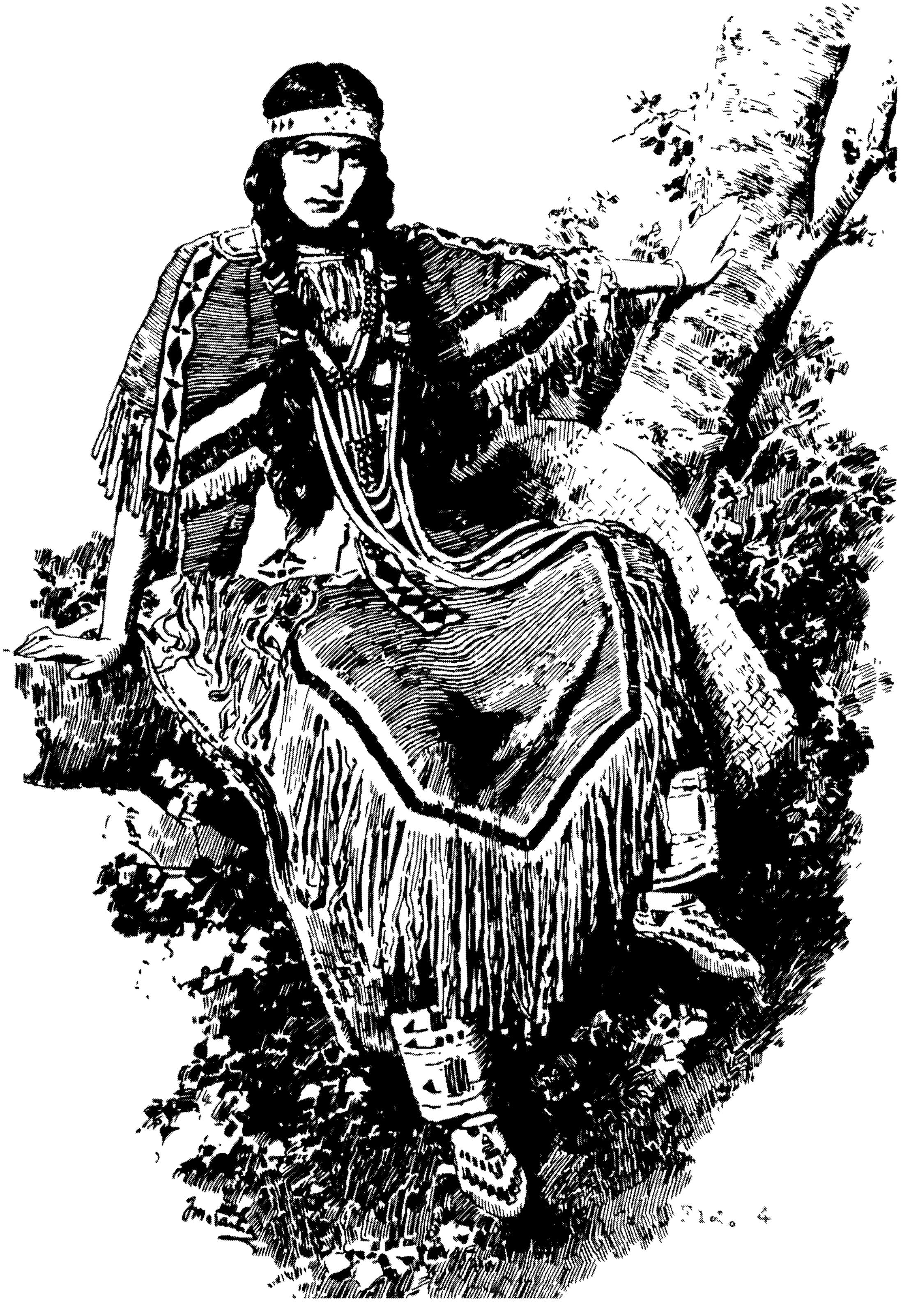


Fig. 4

FIGURE 5. South-west Indians.

Here again the original is in colour and as a result the reproduction is not perfect. The faces actually are a reddish brown, not black as would appear.

See p.229

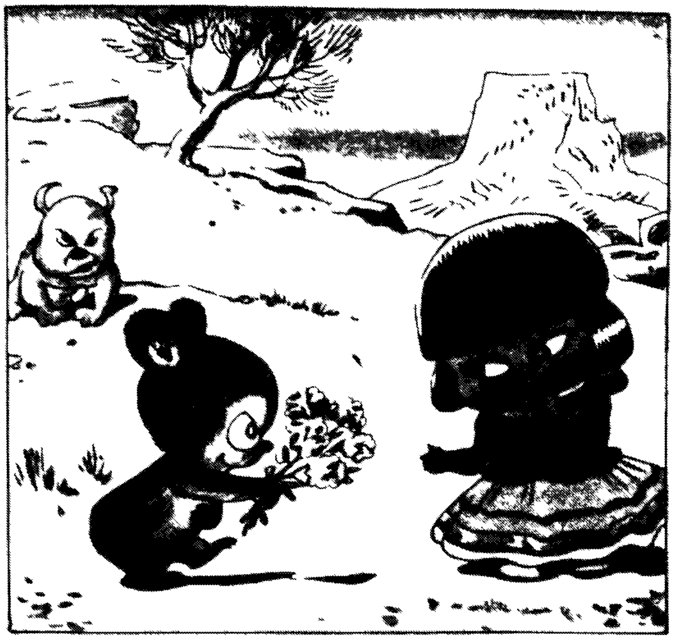
271

Fig.

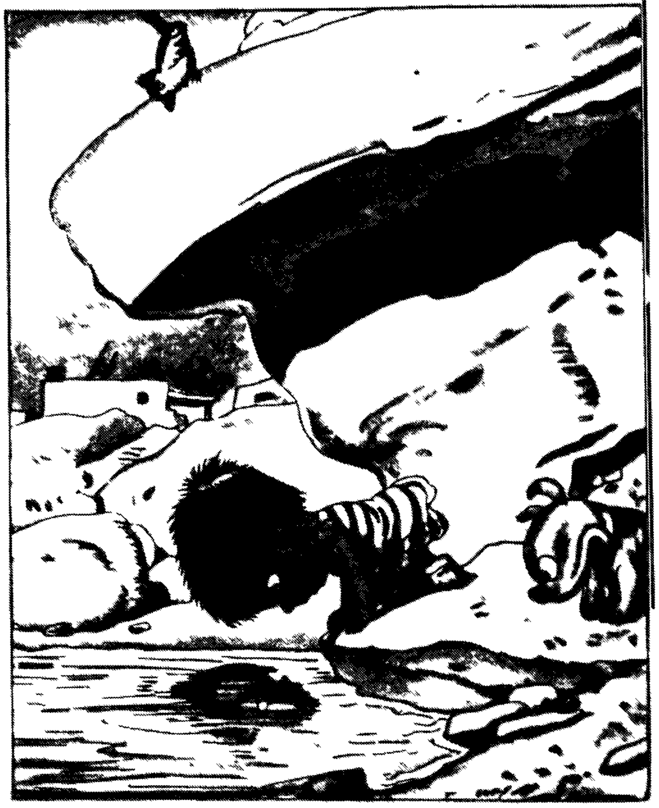
CANYON KIDDIES

By James Swinnerton

THE bear cub brings a bunch of flowers
To lay at Suzi's feet;
But he would keep them for himself
If they were good to eat.



TIZI seems to like his face
Even when it is wet;
That's just fine, because it is
The only one he'll get.



BEGAY'S doing the Canyon dance that's sure to make it rain.
They need it for the swimming hole—we hope it's not in vain.

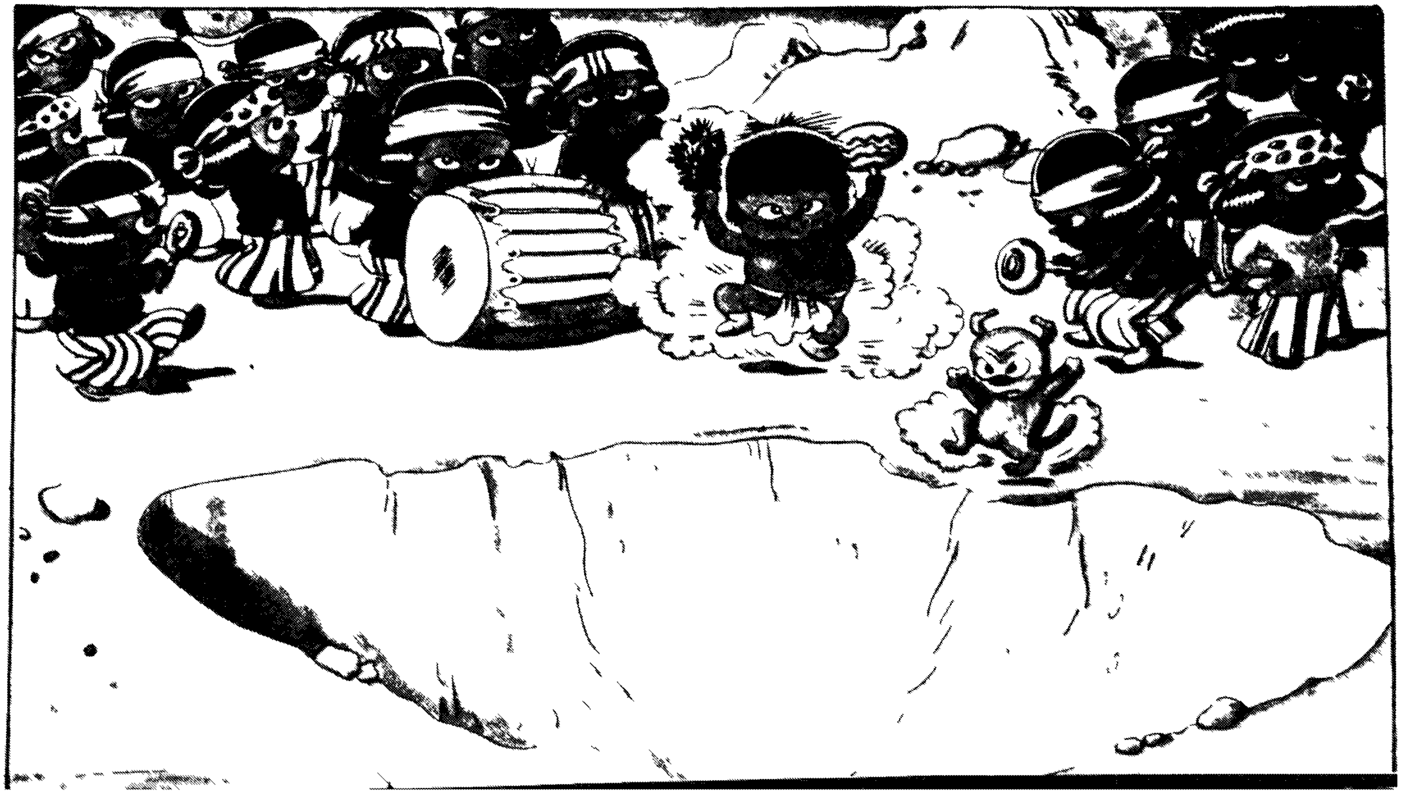


FIGURE 6. Personal Names.

The dark stain is due to difficulties in reproduction.
This is the 'funny name' type of witticism.
See pp.240-243

FIGURE 7. "Princess" Rainbow.

Assumption of the title of "Princess" -- some have honour thrust upon them. See pp.174-177

Figure 8. "Mixed cultures"

Totem-poles and tipis would never occur in the same scene.
See pp.229-232

FIGURE 9. "Smoke signals"

Smoke signals seem to be connected with Indians in the minds of many people. Considerations of length forbade full discussion of the subject in the text. It is not a serious fallacy, but is confined principally to the plains.

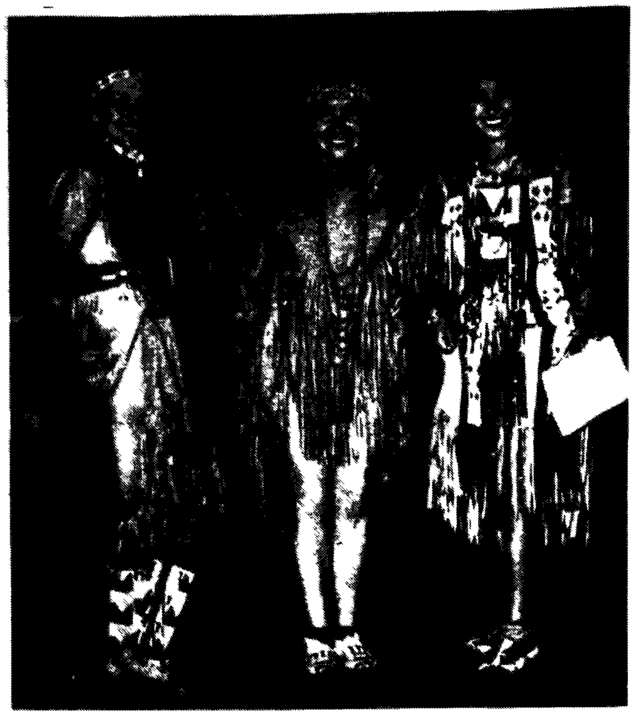
Fig. 6

27 Jan. '41

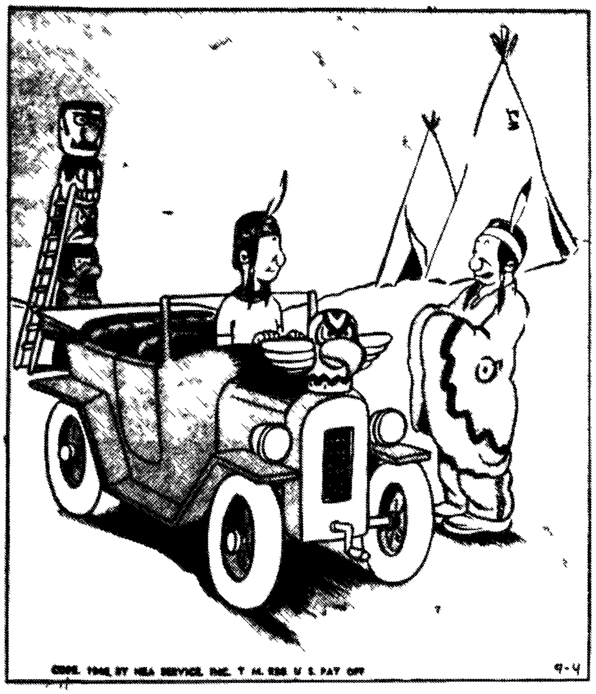
THE EVENING CITIZEN, OTTAWA, ONT.

"I am Great Chief 'Big-wind Fire Cloud Hawk' and this is my son—'Hurricane Spitfire Bomber.'" —London Illustrated

Fig. 7

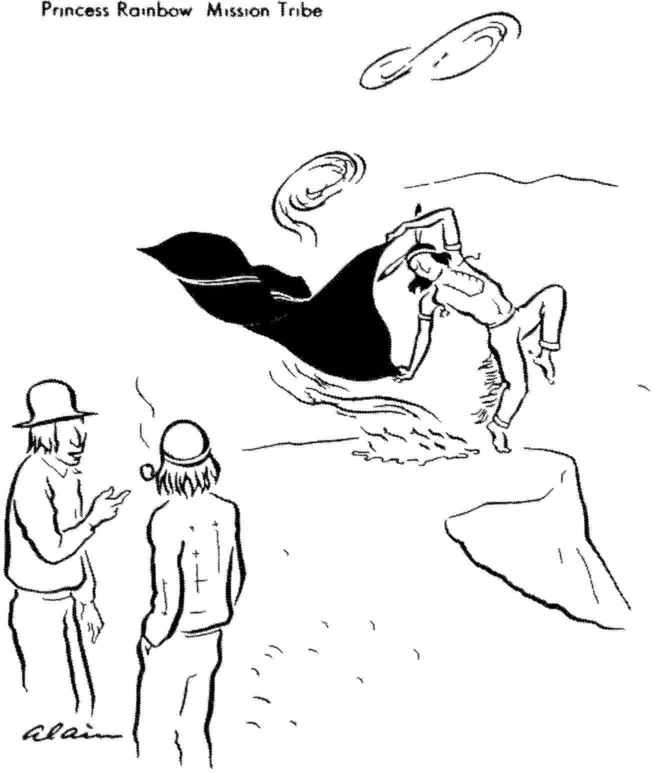


Romere Darling, Pottawatomie Tribe Janet Pachecho Papay and Princess Rainbow Mission Tribe


COPR. [illegible] BY NEA SERVICE, INC. T. M. REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
9-4

"There you are, son—no pale face has a fancier radiator cap than that!"

Fig. 8



"[illegible]"

Fig. 9

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